UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Contemporary Child Slavery and Education for Social Justice: Organizational and Institutional Analysis

by
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ABSTRACT

Contemporary child slavery has increased in most countries of the world and it is clear that efforts to eliminate it have been unsuccessful to date. This study takes as its starting point, the position that education organizations, including schools and non-formal programs, have the potential to create a protective environment for children vulnerable to becoming enslaved and for those who have been rescued. In creating this protection, education can become a tool for social change.

This study examines the relationships between education providers and their institutional field, and how these relationships inform, enable, and constrain decisions and actions regarding both the education of former child slaves and preventive education programs. By analyzing the institutional field, it is possible to identify both possibilities for change and barriers to change. The conceptual frame for the study includes a critical constructivist perspective that creates an understanding of how social norms and logics shape the social world, suggesting that knowledge is constructed, co-constructed, and reconstructed within social contexts, along with institutional structural restraints on these processes. In the analysis of the data, institutional theory was used to understand how the regulations, normative prescriptions, and evaluations of appropriateness and legitimacy constrain and enable efforts for social change.

Data for the study were collected through document analysis, interviews and field observations. The study findings indicate the importance of understanding local

– international relationships in the process of norm change regarding the exploitation of children as slaves. Other findings suggest that strong community – school partnerships play a key role in creating protective spaces for children but because the formal school sector is not included in most work addressing contemporary child slavery, the potential of schools as part of an approach to social change is largely unrecognized and undeveloped. The study showed that when community education agencies, linked to institutional actors across the field and working in coalition, are engaged in preventive and rehabilitative work that involves regulative, normative, and cognitive structural change, it is possible to disrupt the exploitation of children as slaves.

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Chapter 1

Introduction to the Study

The reality that an increasing number of the world's children exist in conditions of slavery is one that receives unanimous condemnation. While one might expect absolute outrage and immediate action by the international community, national and regional governments and local communities, it is clear that the number of child slaves continues to increase while progress on institutional actions are relatively slow. Education organizations, including schools, teacher preparation programs, teacher associations and non-formal programs, have the potential to function as powerful partners in preventing and eliminating child slavery through the provision of quality education and also as locations of information sharing and action coordination.

Slavery is not a new phenomenon, but in its contemporary form it has taken on several characteristics that place it at the intersection of forces of economic globalization and local exclusionary practices. Contemporary slavery can be understood as a global problem with local patterns based on particular social and cultural exclusions and reinforced by variances in access to political power. Early work by Kevin Bales and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as Anti-Slavery International presented important information about slavery in its contemporary form and included an estimate that at least 27 million people were held as slaves (Bales, 1999; 2000). This work described a new trend in which enslaved people were "disposable" because of an abundant supply, a cheap price, a strong network supporting the practice, and lack of enforcement of existing laws (Bales, 1999, p. 118).Other research supports these findings and while the numbers in each report vary, the message is clear: slavery continues to

increase at a rate that is unprecedented. The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA) estimates "each year 700 000 people are trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation and forced labour" (2002, p.1) and the United States State Department (U.S. Department of Labor, 2004) estimates between 800 000 and 900 000 people are trafficked across borders each year. They also estimate 45 000 to 50 000 women and children are trafficked into the US annually. UNICEF (2003) produced a report based on extensive field research and estimated that 1.2 million children are trafficked each year, although this number was reported as 3 million in 2004 at the "Making Rights Work" conference held in Montreal, Canada where it was also reported that trafficking in children generates profits of about $10 billion USD per year worldwide (Joyal, Noel, & Feliciati, 2005). As Sen & Nair (2004) point out, "the trade is secretive, the women [and children] are silenced, the traffickers are dangerous and not many agencies are counting" (p.21). The International Labour Organization (ILO) (2002) estimates that 186 million children work in the worst forms of child labour, which, according to the working definition, is considered slavery. The majority of these children are under the age of 15 years (ILO, 2002).

Slavery is often at the end of the human traffic experience where people are taken from their communities, through force, coercion, and deception. "Trafficking occurs when persons are transported, in a context of exploitation, from a place of origin to a final point or destination. In some cases, the destination may be far from the place of origin" (Unicef, 2003, p. 10). In a major study on human trafficking, UNICEF describes the complexity of the links

> Persons migrating legally from one country to another find themselves at risk because of poverty, discrimination and marginalization and become trapped in a trafficking network. Persons trafficked from one country to another for a particular purpose are later trafficked to a third country, for a different purpose. For example, a child may be trafficked the first time as a domestic worker, and trafficked later on as a woman, sold or recruited into prostitution. Persons are trafficked internally, from a rural area to an urban area, and later trafficked to another country for a different purpose. This creates a link between internal and cross-border trafficking. (Unicef, 2003, p. 18-19)

The U.S. Department of Labor (2004) provides evidence that child trafficking is for the purposes of prostitution, domestic servitude, agricultural work, mining, manufacturing, and organized begging. Bales, Fletcher & Stover, (2004) released a report that indicates there have been reported cases of slavery in 90 US cities in the past 5 years. They also conclude that slavery is "prevalent in 5 sectors of the US economy: sex service (46%), domestic services (27%), agriculture (10%), sweatshop/factory (5%), and restaurant & hotel work (4%) (p. 5). Their research also concludes that "forced labour persists in these sectors because of low wages, lack of regulation and monitoring of working conditions, and a high demand for cheap labour" (p. 1). Sen & Nair (2004) conclude that prevention is the key to eliminating slavery because the sale of humans is so lucrative that intervention is difficult. Community based prevention is key because the village or local community is the starting point for trafficking and slavery. In prevention, it is essential to remove the key vulnerability factors: discrimination, poverty and

illiteracy (Sen & Nair, 2004). In addition, a shift regarding children's rights is necessary, as de Boer-Buquicchio suggests "children are not mini human beings with mini rights. As long as adults continue to regard children as mini human beings, violence against them will persist" (in Joyal, Noel & Feliciati, 2005, p. 54).

The commodification of children must also be linked to wider economic policies that reflect the neoliberal ideology driving economic globalization. As countries became more closely tied to the globalized economic system through World Bank and International Monetary Fund programs in the latter part of the last century, these nation's economies and entire public sectors were restructured in alignment with the neoliberal ideology of the international financial institutions. The results of these trends have been, among other things, the collapse of many small, local enterprises that sustained individuals, families, and small communities. With the increasing global liberalism in economic systems, labour standards have been consistently diminished and local community infrastructure has been weakened, resulting in a decrease in democratic input and citizenship spaces as support for the entrepreneurial individual trumps social development or social action. It is at this point that the vast increase in slavery is located. "Slavery emerges when economic vulnerability combines with high population growth and a lack of regulation or control over the use of violence" (Bales, 2000, p. 9). Local communities, with economic livelihoods devastated by global neoliberal economic policy and with public sector policy and programming minimized, also according to neoliberal structural adjustment programs, have few material or social resources with which to respond to the new global economic reality into which they are thrust.

Slavetraders and slaveholders, functioning within this free market system, find easy access to marginalized people, lax regulations, and few enforcement agents.

The root causes of slavery are described in market terms by the ILO (2002a, 2002b). As a demand driven phenomenon, the market for slaves has increased as the global economy demands ever cheaper sources of labour and goods. As the number of poor, marginalized people increases, so too does the supply of desperate workers, ready to take any employment contract. Children become key players also because of their vulnerability caused by poverty. Driven by a desire to earn a living, children, and often their parents, find the possibility of employment desirable. Vulnerability within these situations is exacerbated by a lack of education and a limited access to schools. The social, economic, and political repercussions of war, conflict, and natural disasters that devastate local economies also play a significant role in creating contexts for slavery to thrive. The 2003 UNICEF study identified the importance of factors beyond poverty that drive the increase in human trafficking.

> Poverty is only one part of the picture. Another strong determinant is the particular vulnerability of women and children which makes them an easy target for traffickers. In particular, patterns of instability, oppression and discrimination may place women and children at greater risk, with social and cultural prejudices and the prevalence of gender violence presenting additional challenges to their effective protection. (p. 5)

Local cultural realities can work to create potential slaves. Attitudes toward children, particularly girls, along with customary practices, in some places, create a cultural context where it is acceptable to send children away for work purposes where they become more

vulnerable to being tricked and manipulated into slavery situations (Unicef, 2003; ILO, 2002a, 2002c). In addition to age and gender discrimination, cultural realities of discrimination based on class, caste, and race also play a major role in determining the location and extent of slavery (Unicef, 2003). Current research recognizes that "victims are particularly exposed to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia, and related intolerance"(UN DESA, 2002, p. 5).

Despite organizations such as the ILO having identified the persistent and growing problem of child slavery it is increasing with little progress on prevention or intervention. Joyal,Noel, & Feliciati (2005) speak directly to the problem:

> Children victims of trafficking play music and beg in our squares, offer sexual services in our avenues and train station, clean our restaurants and collect vegetables in our fields. They are everywhere but seem to be invisible to our eyes, our hearts, and our policies.(p. 52)

The international community as well as state, local communities and families have failed to protect these children who become engaged in a system that often includes trafficking, and extreme violence. This failure is in part caused by the general reality that children's issues tend to be ignored, tied to women's issues or downplayed through a logic of patrimony. Denial of the existence of child slavery is a key finding in research and Sen & Nair (2004) describe "a conspiracy of silence by all concerned, which does not exclude family, community, religious institutions, and political parties, and, at times, even CBOs [community based organizations] and NGOs [non-governmental organizations]" (p. 380).

Purpose of the Research Study

The purpose of this study is to understand the potential role educational organizations have in disrupting the practice of contemporary child slavery. It is, therefore, essentially a study about change for social justice and how this change might be organized and reflects an understanding that a particular context or social issue can best be understood by examining it within its wider social context or system. It is a study that seeks to identify the relationships between education providers and their institutional field and how these relations inform, enable and constrain educational organizations' decisions and actions regarding both the education of former child slaves as well as preventive education programs. How members of an organization understand the experience of slavery, its roots and functions in society, as well as the needs of children who have experienced slavery, will determine the actions of that organization. These actions are visible in policy and program choices and will have a lasting effect on the children and their ability to function as engaged citizens in their communities. By investigating the institutional field within which organization responses exist, it is possible to identify both possibilities of change and barriers to such change. In order to carry out this investigation and to identify the potential for social change, I engaged with practitioners in Canada, the United Kingdom (UK) and India who are working in the areas of education, development, and human rights in relation to contemporary child slavery.

Personal Connection to the Study

This study was initiated as a result of my connections in the field of global education. I became aware of the increases in child slavery in 2000 through a personal friendship with an activist from Nepal working to strengthen women's groups in her

community in order to protect women and children from being trafficked into slavery. She asked for my assistance in understanding the connection between women's enslavement and education, with particular interest in my expertise in the organization of education and organizational change. This was to be the first time, but not the last, that I was drawn into the issue of contemporary child slavery. A process of similar ongoing encounters impacted my decision to focus my doctoral research on the issue and continued to influence how this study was designed and carried out. While the issue came from the community rather than being one that I identified in isolation, the decision to work in the area of child slavery required I make a personal commitment not only as a researcher but beyond:

As a global citizen: My understanding of global citizenship is a recognition that we are connected to all other people through a common humanity, a shared environment, and shared interest and activities that reveal a universal human dignity and require us to act in ways that respect and value that dignity (Shultz, forthcoming; Abdi & Shultz, 2006).Therefore, there is an activist perspective in my participation in this study. The implication of a commitment as an active global citizen to this study is that social justice for the children abused in the slave trade must be held at the centre of the study and that the research is not only theoretical but also links theory to the practice of education for social justice.

As an educator: My expertise in education is understanding how educational policies and processes are organized and how this organization affects the life possibilities of both individuals and society as a whole. The implications of committing this expertise to the study is that this expertise can be used as a tool for social justice if I

make connections between understandings of education as a tool of transformation and justice, and the work of organizing education within the larger context of education provision.

As an academic researcher: I understand my role as researcher to be one of engaging in the process of "knowing" by crossing boundaries and making connections that other actors in the field are not necessarily positioned to make. In this study, my commitment as a researcher requires that I build relationships across boundaries as a way of linking theory and praxis. This commitment then, is to both the academy and the community.

Contribution of the Study

This study will contribute to the knowledge and understanding of how the non-formal and formal education sectors can respond to contemporary child slavery. Central to the study is the understanding that if we want change in the educational outcomes and human development potential for marginalized children, we must change the way that education is provided to them. A key first step in making such changes is to understand how people are organized to provide education and how this organization enables and constrains the actions of individuals within the organization, as well as the institution of education as a whole. This study focuses on educational organizations in both the formal and nonformal sectors and the relationships between education providers and other organizations within the institutional field of contemporary slavery and education service provision. Through the knowledge and understanding of these relationships within their institutional field, valuable information will be provided about the constraints, opportunities and possibilities for providing education that should be, first and foremost,

emancipatory and enabling for children who have experienced slavery but also provides information about the realities and issues related to slavery as a preventive tool. The study's findings have applicability to situations where child slavery exists and where education organizations, (governmental, non-governmental, international, national, and local), are involved in formal or non-formal education provision. These findings stand to contribute to the policy and practice of state governments, non-governmental organizations (international, national and local), and local education communities in providing more effective education programming for preventive and post-slavery education.

Research Questions

This study takes as its starting point the following research questions:

- What is the role of education in disrupting contemporary child slavery?
  - What is the relationship between child slavery and education provision?
  - How is education being provided to children removed from contemporary slavery?
  - How is education being used as preventive tool?

- How are educational organizations that provide education for former child slaves situated in relation to other organizations within the institutional field?
  - What is the institutional field within which these organizations function?
  - What are the norms?
  - How do these relationships inform, enable and constrain organizations in the provision of education programming that provides the tools for former child slaves to participate as full citizens?
- What is the potential for change in the institutional field and in education practice?
- What are the policy implications for local, national and international organizations concerned with combating the effects of slavery through education?

These questions will provide a means to understand how the norms, cognitive ideas, values, and valued practices are legitimized and exist within the education provision for former slaves. This will, in turn, provide a way to understand the possibilities for social change.

Delimitations of the Study

Contemporary slavery, and its related issues, is a complex area and therefore many approaches to research could be taken. My intent in this study is to carve out a particular piece of the wider slavery issue by examining the effects of institutional structures on the activities of education organizations. The study is not intended to present information regarding the extent of the problem of contemporary child slavery or to examine the conditions of enslavement: for example, relationships between traffickers and slaves. As well, the study does not delve into the legacy of colonialism and its relationship with contemporary slavery. The study is not intended to be a full description of all actors within the institutional field but instead focuses on a particular group of actors that reflect a particular part of the institutional field at a particular time.

Limitations of the Study

Research in the area of contemporary slavery is relatively limited to date and research on issues of education and contemporary slavery even more so. Therefore, this study is limited by existing gaps in knowledge about such areas as the extent, location, and impact of contemporary slavery, as well as the educational needs of children removed from slavery and of those most vulnerable to being enslaved. While policy discussions about education are beginning to take place at local, regional and international levels, implementation of these policies is still very much a work in progress. This situation presented both limits and opportunities for this study. This is a small study within a vastly complex research problem and will be, at best, able to provide an analysis of the institutional field from the perspectives of a small sample of

organizations and provide a platform for further study. While my ultimate hope is that this work might lead to transformative practice and improved efforts to enhance life possibilities for some of the world's most marginalized children, the small study size and limited existing research must be considered in the application of study findings. The intent of the research is to provide a working understanding of the possibilities for change that exist within the field of responses to contemporary child slavery.

Definitions

The following terms and definitions will be used for this study.

Slavery is the total control of one person by another for the purpose of economic exploitation. The use of this economically focused definition is done intentionally for two reasons. The first is a methodologically pragmatic one, as this is the definition most often used in current literature on contemporary slavery and serves to delimit the experience of slavery in relation to other types of labour exploitation. The second reason is a more theoretical one. The history of slavery, while beyond the scope of this particular research project, indicates patterns in the treatment of marginalized people in eras of empire. For example, relations of slavery existed in Graeco-Roman society (cf. Isaac, 2006). Currently, we continue to deal with the racist and white supremacist legacy of the European empire-building project of colonization and the Trans-Atlantic slave trade (Abdi, forthcoming; Abdi & Shultz, 2006). Contemporary slavery is tied to economic globalization and the neoliberal agenda of trade liberalization which has been identified as a project of empire (cf. Abdi, forthcoming; Stewart- Harawira, 2005). Contemporary slavery continues the pattern of enslavement tied to empire-building in

this global economic process. The description of slavery as an abusive economic relationship is therefore tied to this understanding of a globalized economic empire. This in no way suggests that the implications and consequences are limited to economic areas but cause what Patterson (1982) aptly describes as social death for those enslaved.

Human Trafficking: For the purpose of this study, the definition of trafficking outlined in the Palermo Protocol (UN, 2000) will be used.

> Trafficking in persons shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or service, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs (Article 3a, p. 2).... The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered *trafficking in persons* even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article (Article 3 d, p. 2).

Development: This study draws on Sen's (1999) understanding of development which can be seen to be a process of enlarging people's choices which is achieved by expanding human capabilities and functionings. At all levels of development the three essential capabilities for human development are for people to lead long and healthy lives, to be knowledgeable, and to have a decent standard of living (UNDP, 2003). Saul

(2005) is helpful in distinguishing a neoliberalized understanding of choice that exists when citizens are understood primarily through their economic role as consumers, with an understanding of choice as a feature of a democratic society where citizens and countries are engaged actively in enlarging their individual and collective life possibilities. Development, within this study will be understood to include a complex relationship of economic, political, social and cultural capacities and capabilities that are both individual and collective and that exist within a personal, local and global context.

Human rights are rights that any person has based on their inherent dignity as a human being and regardless of race, religion, nationality, class, or sex. The aim of human rights is to protect human dignity against abuse by the state or other people and to provide the basic conditions of life that enable a person to develop his or her maximum potential. According to the Maastricht Guidelines on Violations of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1997 (an update of the Limburg Principles on the Implementation of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1986), rights violations include not just political and civil rights, but also economic, social and cultural rights (Section I, Article 4). States have an obligation to respect, protect and fulfil their commitment to upholding human rights, as well as obligations to act in ways that ensure political, economic, social, and cultural rights are supported and protected for all citizens. *Duty bearers and human rights*: In the work of human rights, it is understood that rights are linked to obligations and that duty bearers are those people who are responsible to provide and/or protect rights. For example, parents, governments, community members are all duty bearers of children's rights.

An **Organization** is "a system of interdependent activity linking shifting coalitions of participants; the system is embedded in – dependent on continuing exchanges with and constituted by – the environment in which it operates" (Scott, 1998, p. 3). Organizations are key mechanisms of social action within society.

Education Organizations: Organizations involved in providing education programming, including pre-primary, primary and secondary schools; universities and colleges; vocational, technical and other training institutions, as well as organizations providing short term, non-credentialed programs. The work of these organizations cannot be neutral in their impact as, for example, Vanek (1975) identifies, education is formal or 'life-oriented', socializing or mobilizing, dominating or liberating. Freire also identified the importance of understanding that education serves to facilitate certain outcomes and not others:

> The organization of the programmatic content of education is an eminently political act…Thus, in concerning myself with what should be known, I am also necessarily involved with why it needs to be known, how, to what end… and in whose interests. (Freire, 1978, p. 15).

Public Education is provided through state mechanisms, including all forms of governance and funding. State officials, accountable (in many cases) to the electorate, are ultimately responsible for decision-making.

Private Education is provided through private businesses whose key objective is profit-making. The company owners or shareholders hold decision-making power regarding policy, funding and programming.

Non-profit Education programming is provided through organizations whose objectives are social rather than economic, and whose financial surpluses are reinvested into the organization. Governance is by a group of people independent from the state. Also known as voluntary organizations or charitable organizations, these organizations can be:

Community Based Organizations (CBO) are locally situated organizations with governance by and for local people addressing an issue of local concern.

Non-government Organizations (NGO) are voluntary or charitable organizations that work locally but may maintain funding and governance connections nationally or regionally.

International Non-government Organization (INGO) are voluntary or charitable organizations that work on local projects but have head offices outside the country where the programming takes place. These tend to be large organizations with offices, programs and projects in many countries. In international development these organizations tend to be called **Northern Non-Government Organizations (NNGO)** to distinguish them as being driven by head offices in "northern" or "developed" countries, where funding and policy decisions are made.

Formal Education refers to the structured education system provided by the state. It includes a long-term focus on preparation of children for adulthood. Formal education programs are usually part of a system leading to credentials.

Non-formal Education, in contrast to formal education, is usually non-credentialed, not compulsory and may or may not be state supported. Non-formal education takes place outside the formally organized school. Many non-formal education projects focus on life-oriented, transformational and politically mobilizing programs and activities.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Frame for the Study

Institutional analysis helps us understand "how notions about who is human and deserving of protection and notions about legitimate interventions are socially constructed" (Finnemore 1996, p. 33) and how these constructions create realities of violence and deprivation, and of child slavery even a century after such practices were to have been abolished. In this study I am striving to not only provide an in depth description of the institutional field, but also provide an understanding of how change might be possible. Institutional analysis helps to frame possibilities of change and when institutional analysis is combined with a focus on education, the potential for change is highlighted further. Education can be a powerful agent of social change or an equally powerful force to maintain structures and inequalities. Institutional theory provides an alternative to existing neoliberal and neorealist accounts of the causes and consequences of slavery for children and the possibility of disrupting slavery through education programming.

Institutional analysis has a rich and diverse background and definitions of institutions reflect this diversity. While Immergut (1998) suggests that seeking a standard definition of institution is not desirable and that research should instead focus on the effects of the institution, other researchers hold to very specific understandings of institutions. Douglas (1986) defines an institution as a legitimate social grouping with legitimacy determined by a logic of naturalness. An institution is defined by Sipple

(1999) as "a socially defined purpose around which normative, cognitive, and regulative structures emerge to provide stability and meaning to social behaviours" (p. 451). These three pillars of institutions (Scott, 2001; 1995) function as an institutional field exerting influence on organizations, pressuring them to conform to institutional norms, values, and standards of practice. This study draws heavily on the work of John Campbell (2005; 2004; 2003) who has written extensively on the importance of institutional analysis in understanding social change. This expertise is reflected in his understanding of institutions:

> Institutions are the foundation of social life. They consist of formal and informal rules, monitoring and enforcement mechanisms, and systems of meaning that define the context within which individuals, corporations, labour unions, nation-states, and other organizations operate and interact with each other. Institutions are settlements born from struggle and bargaining. They reflect the resources and power of those who made them and, in turn, affect the distribution of resources and power in society. Once created, institutions are powerful external forces that help determine how people make sense of their world and act in it. (Campbell, 2004, p. 1).

Institutions are foundational and form an often "taken for granted" back story to all social relations, including organizations which are of particular interest in this study. In addition, people seek legitimacy for their actions within institutional structures, both background and foreground structures. For example, in the case of responses to child slavery, educators in formal and non-formal education organizations form their policy and programs based on particular normative and understood meanings that are both

constructed and constrained within the institutional field. The resulting system of meaning provides the legitimacy for organizational practices and social actions. That this process is constructed through struggle is of importance. Issues of power are threaded throughout the fabric of institutions as they are created and they form part of the strength that makes change difficult. Therefore, any effort to change institutions and the social relations must address how power exists in institutional structures.

Finnemore & Sikkink (1998) describe the link between norms and institutions, and identify three categories of norms: "regulative norms, which order and constrain behaviour, constitutive norms, which create new actors, interests or categories of action, and evaluative or prescriptive norms" (p. 891). Finnemore & Sikkink also suggest that norms prompt justification and "leave an extensive trail of communication among actors that we can study" (p.892). Such study can explore the norm life cycle that includes norm emergence, broad norm acceptance or norm cascade, and norm internalization with each stage involving different actors, motives and mechanisms of change (p. 895).

Hollingsworth (2004, p. 131-133) identifies five components of institutional analysis:

- Institutions, for example, norms, rules, conventions, habits and values. "Institutions provide cognitive frameworks for coping with complex environments and for reducing uncertainty" (p. 132).
- Institutional arrangements, for example, markets, corporate hierarchies, networks, associations.
- Institutional sectors, for example, system of education, business system, non-profit sector. These link together to create a social system of production.

- Organizations, for example, international NGOs, local community based organizations. "Organizational structures unfold in tandem with other areas of institutions"(p. 133).
- Outputs and performance, for example, statutes, administrative decisions, sectoral performance. "Variations in institutions, institutional arrangements and social systems of production result in different kinds of societal performance such as different patterns of inequality, innovativeness, and levels of well-being" (p. 133).

Branches of Institutional Research

This study is located within what is known as *new institutionalism* that brings a history, a particular understanding of how social relations exist, and a set of research practices. It is important to understand the variety of approaches to the study of institutions and what has come to be understood as new institutionalism. New institutionalists have established, through extensive research, that organizations are defined by their institutional environments and that these organizations seek legitimacy from these environments to ensure their continued survival (cf. Campbell, 2004; Boli & Thomas, 1999; Scott & Meyer, 1994; Meyer & Boli, 1987; Thomas, Meyer, Ramirez & Boli, 1987). Work in institutional theory has come from three distinct fields: economics developed rational choice institutional theory; sociology developed organizational institutionalism; and historical institutionalism has its roots in political science. Recent work by Immergut (1998) and Campbell (2004; 2005) finds common ground in these three sometimes disparate approaches. Davis, McAdam, Scott & Zald (2005) also see the

importance of bridging institutional theory, organizational theory, and the study of networks and have created a common framework for this purpose. This approach seems suited to educational policy research and this study.

Immergut (1998) and Campbell (2004) compare three approaches to new institutional research and both conclude that while the approaches vary significantly, new institutional research does share a theoretical core. The three branches of institutional scholarship are rational choice, organization theory and historical institutionalism (cf. Campbell, 2004; Immergut, 1998). Research from a rational choice or "rules of the game" perspective focuses on the study of strategic action of rational actors. This work assumes that choice is made by rational actors under conditions of interdependence (cf. Kiser & Kane, 2001; Knight, 1992; 1998). Douglas (1986) and others, criticize a rational choice approach to institutionalism because it assumes that each thinker is a sovereign individual(p. 8). In this, rational choice theory is unable to explain collective behaviour, nor can it explain solidarity (p.8).

Organizational approaches "stress the importance of symbolic codes and the role of institutions in generating meaning, as well as norms and *appropriateness* as a category of action" (Immergut, p. 7, 1998, Powell & DiMaggio, 1991; Zucker, 1991). From this perspective decisions are the result of cognitive and organizational processes rather than of macro-aggregations of individual preferences even if these process are conflicting and uncertain (Immergut, 1998) It is problematic however, that much of the research from an organizational approach assumes a neutrality in the institutional environment. Immergut (1998) attributes this to a focus on the inherent limitation on individual cognition such as the limitation that time and information are not sufficient to allow for a full understand

of the situation before action is carried out. Therefore, the organizational theorist tends to assume it is individuals' cognitive limits and subsequent organizational decisions that produce bias rather than human intention or social structures (1998).

Work in the area of historical institutionalism has brought the themes of power and interests into the study of organizations, expanding the potential for institutional analysis to be used to further a social justice agenda. With a focus on norms, rules, and procedures, this approach to institutional analysis explores the construction of interests and how these are represented over time[1]. An underlying focus in institutional analysis is on the processes of deliberation and the tension between social structures and individual agency (Immergut, 1998). Actors are understood to be self-reflective but constrained and shaped by institutional structures that reflect actors' own history. Power analysis is important with a focus on identifying access to decision making, mental constructs of power and how power is represented. This critical approach to institutional studies presupposes that policies are not shaped in a neutral process but one that consists of a multiplicity of interactions among actors with conflicting interests and, therefore, privilege some interests at the expense of others. Researchers providing a theoretical and practical background for understanding how power, structure and agency exists within institutional relationships and the inherent tensions in these relationships are Immergut, 1998; Reed, 1999; Westwood& Clegg, 2003; Perrow, 1986.

[1] Note: for a full comparison of the similarities and differences of these three approaches, see Campbell 2004, p. 11-27.

How Institutions Work

According to Scott (2001; 1995; 1983; cited in Palmer & Biggart, 2002; Strang & Sine, 2002; Sipple, 1999; Davis & Greve, 1997; Oliver, 1991) institutions are regulative in that they serve to constrain and regularize organizational behaviour through laws, sanctions, and formal regulations. Institutions are normative in that they create social order through prescription, evaluation, and obligation, creating a context where individual and organizational actual behaviour can be compared with preferred behaviour (Sipple, 1999). The cognitive functions of institutions are "based on the notion that individuals [and organizations] interpret and construct their own meaning of the world around them" (Sipple, 1999, p. 453). Davis & Greve (1991) suggest that

> evidence of the legitimacy of an organization's practice differs according to which institutional pillar is examined: conformity to laws and other rules for the regulative pillar, moral endorsement or certification that one meets the obligations of one's role for the normative pillar, and following the prevalent practice in one's field for the cognitive pillar. (Davis & Greve, 1997, p. 7)

In cases where there are conflicting expectations of organizations embedded in the institutional pillars, how organizations receive, interact with, and internalize institutional messages (and pressures) is of particular interest. Foundational work in this area that informs this study includes Scott's early work which explored environmental linkages and organizational complexity in comparing education organizations' responses to increasingly complex institutional environments (1983, p. 128). In a study involving state education and business change agents and their interest in school improvement, Sipple (1999) draws on Scott's three pillars to study the environment in which

corporations and schools operate, examining relationships between agents calling for school improvement. Davis & Greve (1997) study organizational change by examining network structures, including linkages and structural holes, and use Scott's pillars of institutions to understand the influence of networked social relationships in organization – institutional interaction as they seek legitimacy from within the institutional environment.

> The cognitive approach focuses on the actors' shared frameworks of interpretation, which allow them to acquire a common definition of the situation. Thus, legitimacy comes from adopting a common frame of reference consistent with the one that prevails in a social system. The normative conception is more evaluative in nature, and legitimacy takes on a moral tone – doing what others expect as 'appropriate' for one's role. The regulative view looks to formal and informal rules as constraining and regularizing behaviour, and legitimacy of an organizational practice. (p. 6)

The work of Douglas (1986) can also deepen this understanding of how institutions work:

> Institutions systemically direct individual memory and channel our perceptions into forms compatible with the relations they authorize. They fix processes that are essentially dynamic, they hide their influence, and they rouse our emotions to a standardized pitch on standardized issues. Add to this that they endow themselves with rightness and send their mutual corroboration cascading through all the levels of our joint

> information system. For example, if the institution is one that depends on participation, it will reply to our frantic question with, 'More participation'. (p. 92)

However, Immergut (1998) suggests that institutions, while constraining and corrupting, also provide the means for change. Change is not impossible despite the strength of institutional pressures of constraint and within institutional relationships there is evidence of resistance and innovation that also influence actors.

Responses to Institutional Pressure

As the key means of collective action, organizations exist as a result of and in support of most aspects of our daily lives. In the context of this research project, education organizations enact an important societal response to slavery and play a decisive role in the future of children removed from slavery. Education organizations also have a preventive role and impact the possibilities of children who may be enslaved in the future without significant local and global changes.

Scott (1998) presents three distinctive definitions of organizations: the organization as rational system, the organization as natural system and the organization as open system. For the purposes of this study, an organization will be understood to be "a system of interdependent activity linking shifting coalitions of participants; the system is embedded in – dependent on continuing exchanges with and constituted by - the environment in which it operates" (Scott, 1998, p. 3). This understanding of organizations is supported by other researchers as they seek to understand the patterns of relationships between organizations and institutional fields. Morgan (1998) states "it

seems systemically wise to view organizations and environments as elements of the same interconnected pattern" (p. 222).

In a study of organizational responses to institutional pressure, Oliver (1991) also uses Scott's pillars to identify a range of responses organizations enact in response to organizational pressure. If the normative, regulative, and cognitive structures of institutions are understood to exert influence on organizations, how can we expect organizations to respond? Research in this area draws heavily on the work of DiMaggio & Powell (1983) who describe organization responses in terms of conformity through the process of isomorphism, "a constraining process that forces one unit in a population to resemble other units that face the same set of environmental conditions" (p. 149) (See also Sipple, 1999; Oliver, 1992; Scott, 2001; 1995; Baum & Oliver, 1992; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Rowan, 1982). These constraints exist in three forms. Coercive isomorphism exists through formal and informal pressures from societal expectations and interorganizational culture (DiMaggio& Powell, 1983, p. 150). Mimetic responses exist in contexts of uncertainty, such as 'when organizational technologies are poorly understood, when goals are ambiguous, or when the environment creates symbolic uncertainty" (p. 151). Finnemore & Sikkink (1998) define norm as "a standard of appropriate behaviour for actors with a given identity (p. 891) and for sociologists, institutions and norms are closely connected, if not at times, used interchangeably (p. 189). Normative isomorphism can be identified in how organizations work, for example, "the fact that occupational groups tend to provide common solutions to perceived problems" (Taylor, Neu, & Peters, 2002, p. 471). Therefore, we can expect professional

groups to function in normative roles within the institutional field and as agents of isomorphism.

Isomorphism, however, is unable to explain the full range of organizational behaviours within a field. Organizations cannot be assumed to be without agency in organization – institution or interorganizational relationships. Sipple (1999), Scott (1995) and Oliver (1991) have all presented studies that, while agreeing with DiMaggio & Powell's (1983) isomorphism, show organizational responses are much more complex and include responses beyond conformity. Oliver (1991) identified a range of strategic and tactical organizational responses that serve organization motives of legitimacy and sustainability and recognize "the potential for variation in the degree of choice, awareness, proactiveness, influence, and self-interest that organizations exhibit in response to institutional pressures" (p.146). Oliver (1991) suggests that

> when an organization is in harmony with institutional pressures – similar in norms and beliefs – the organization will conform to the pressure. Conversely, should the institution and the organization have diametrically opposed belief systems, norms or ideas, the organization is more likely to aggressively oppose compliance and actively attempt to change the institution advanced. (Oliver, 1991, in Sipple, 1999, p. 457)

"Conformity is neither inevitable nor invariably instrumental in securing organization longevity" (Oliver, 1991; Oliver in Sipple, 1999, p. 455). Sipple's (1999) study of institutional constraints on education organizations examined the presence of both interest and agency (p. 477) and describes the range of active organizational responses to institutional pressures. These studies highlight the importance of understanding how

actors connect to others, how these connections are made and maintained, and how the connections act in enabling and/or constraining capacities.

Institutional Change, Organizational Change and Action

To what extent and in what manner, do institutional processes transform organizations and their fields and enable the rise of new kinds of practice? Immergut (1998) argues that institutions do not determine behaviour, they simply provide a context for action that helps us to understand why actors make the choices they do. Therefore, she suggests, in order to understand change, we need to look to the actors in relation to the institution. Keck & Sikkink (1998) identify the difficulty with institutional norm change because it requires actors to question established patterns within the institutional field that has served to construct and constrain their current practice.

Strang & Sine (2002) suggest that variation in Scott's pillars (Scott, 2001; 1995) may be a catalyst for change if these pillars and their supports are in tension. They suggest that change agents may be reformers at the top, such as the state or profession (p. 503), or challengers, such as Finnemore & Sikkink's (1998) norm entrepreneurs, who act as innovators within the institutional field. A third change agent is social groups with common interests (Strang & Sine, 2002 p. 505). "Institutional change then arises when the values of the powerful change, when the distribution of power changes or when groups mobilize to more effectively act upon their interests" (p. 505-506). Campbell (2004) suggests these particular actors play a role as entrepreneurs to bring about change. He suggests that "being located at the borders and interstices of several social networks, organizational fields, or institutions can enhance the probabilities for relatively revolutionary change"(p. 74). The reason for this is that the broader influences provide a

wider repertoire of legitimate actions with which to work and these actors "are more likely to recombine elements in their repertoire, all of which increase the possibilities for creative and revolutionary thinking, innovation, and bricolage" (p. 75). Aldrich (1999 in Campbell, 2004) suggests that

> regardless of their personal qualities, entrepreneurs depend heavily on these locations. Those who occupy impoverished locations lacking a diversity of connections are more likely to find themselves cut off from knowledge about feasible variations on existing practices and critical resources with which to innovate than those who occupy locations with more diverse connections. (p. 74-75)

Campbell refers to Scott's (2001; 1998; 1995) institutional pillars when he suggests that if an "entrepreneur's institutional location limits the range of innovations that can be imagined cognitively, ... then it may also limit the range of innovations that will be normatively appropriate or legitimate" (Campbell, 2004, p. 75). Finnemore and Sikkink (1998) describe the process of persuasion whereby "agent action becomes social structure; ideas become norms and the subjective becomes the intersubjective" (p. 914). Therefore, policy entrepreneurs tend to work to intentionally form coalitions and networks in order to achieve their change agendas. This idea is supported by Mintrom (1997) who states:

> For policy entrepreneurs operating at the state level, networking across state lines can also be important for several reasons. First, through these contacts, they learn more about the details of policy innovations elsewhere. Knowing these details can increase the credibility of policy entrepreneurs, because they can then more readily give authoritative-sounding responses to question or objections raised concerning a

proposed policy innovation. Third, networking across state lines allows policy entrepreneurs to learn what strategies for selling a particular policy innovation have met with success in other states. (p. 740)

Campbell (2004) also suggests that actors use a process of bricolage to innovate within existing institutional structures. This process of recombining and creatively connecting institutional principles and practices creates new practices that are legitimatized because of their prior place within the normative, regulative or cognitive structures. This process causes institutions to change in path dependent ways (Campbell, 2004, p. 70). Path dependency refers to the process where "contingent events or decisions result in the establishment of institutions that persist over long periods of time and constrain the range of actors' future options, including those that may be more efficient or effective in the long run" (Campbell, 2004, p. 65).

According to Campbell's (2004) theory of institutional change, another mechanism or process that links institutional factors and actors in a process of change is diffusion. Strang & Meyer (1993) suggest diffusion refers to how understandings and practices spread throughout an institutional field with few modifications, and in this, their work links diffusion to DiMaggio & Powell's (1983) concept of isomorphism. In diffusion studies by Strang & Soule (1998), organization – institution relationships are examined and the authors emphasize the structural and cultural aspects of these "channels along which practices flow" (p. 265). Strang & Chang (2001) draw on institutional analysis and the work of DiMaggio & Powell (1983), to study the International Labour Organization (ILO) and its relationship to local organization social

policy processes. Their study identified the links between the international arena and national and local organization practices. They conclude that

> global standards and agenda setting play roles in the rapid expansion of programs in some states. Norms are diffused and accepted by others in principle, if not put immediately into practice. It is useful to conceptualize the discourse.... as global in scope, and emerging out of the normative models and formal organizations that span national societies. (p. 259)

Strang & Chang also suggest that institutional norms at the international level (e.g. International Labour Organization (ILO) are not necessarily imposed on local organizations, but that they "serve as 'resources' that reinforce the purposes actors are already aligned around" (p. 244). According to Davis & Greve (1997) "the structure of the diffusion network will condition whether and when practices spread widely" (p.8). In this study of elite networks and governance changes, Davis & Greve (1997) draw on the literature on diffusion networks to link individual and collective action. Cole (1989) presents a comparative study of the interorganizational diffusion of knowledge in different nations. His study involved examining innovation and the spread of the use of small group activities in organizational management processes. Boli & Meyer (1987) studied how the concept of childhood diffused across nations and cultures and concluded that cultural concepts functioning at a global level act as prescriptive influences on states who end up enacting these global concepts. These links between global and local structures are confirmed in the work of Keck & Sikkink (1998), Finnemore & Sikkink (1998) and Finnemore (1996). Finnemore also suggests that there is a strong

multidirectional link between global and local institutional structures, and suggests "it is this interaction between international structures and local agents of change that interests constructivists" (p. 137) (See methodology chapter for more on this study and constructivism). Stang & Soule (1998) suggest future research should attend to the social nature of organizational relations in order to understand the diffusion of knowledge and innovative practice in organizations.

A final mechanism of institutional change of interest in this study is that of "translation and enactment" (Campbell, 2004, p. 79). This process describes what researchers have identified in case studies that show ideas and practices that diffuse across locales, the "recipients implement or enact them in different way, and to greater or lesser extent, depending on their local social and institutional context (p. 80). As compared to bricolage, the combining of "old" ways into new forms, translations and enactments involves the combining of external or "new" ways with "old" ways. In this study of child slavery, it is particularly interesting to understand how local communities and organizations are combining new concepts, such as universal human rights or citizenship, with "old" ways of understanding and enacting "who deserves to be considered human?" or "who deserves access to the privileges and rewards of participation?". Studies of translation and enactment within institutional fields have had varying levels of success in identifying how change takes place in institutions; Examples of such studies include Lounsbury's (2001) study of the diffusion of recycling programs; Keck & Sikkink's (1998) study of environmental, human rights, and anti-violence advocacy networks and international politics; and Finnemore, (1996) who presents a detailed look at the relationship of state, local and global interests and enactments. In this

study it is important to explore if and how translation occurs and to what extent it yields diverse outcomes.

If we use institutional analysis to understand how change is possible, Campbell (2004) suggests it is necessary to explore how ideas (normative and cognitive) exist within the institutional field.

Campbell (2004) continues his theory of institutional change with a description of the ideational role of actors (p. 100-107). He suggests that researchers need to ask "who are the actors" and "what is their role in institutional change"? Actors can play several important roles in enabling and constraining change including

- Decision makers (program role)
- Framer (Frames role)
- Broker (mediating between foreground, background, cognitive and normative structures)
- Theorists (paradigm role)
- Constituent (public sentiment/cultural role)

In this study, identifying the actors in relation to the institutional field and to each other is important in identifying enabling and constraining forces in the attempts to create social change.

In summary, the conceptual framework for this study is new institutionalism with a focus on organizational relationships as they relate to the provision of education as a means to disrupt contemporary child slavery. It is a study that seeks to identify possibilities of change by understanding the institutional forces that constrain and enable

actors. Acts of violence, such as slavery, are inherently social in nature and therefore, require social analysis. Organizations are our main mechanisms for social arrangements and social action. By studying how organizations respond to child slavery, it is possible to provide evidence of institutional structures and their influence. Part of this process is to deepen the understanding of how interests and power are constructed within the institutional field. Social actors, in this case, organizations, seek legitimacy through appropriate action and this legitimacy comes not from within the organization, but from complex interactions within the institutional field. Communication from organizations is the trail that can be used to understand the norms and regulative structures that influence their logics, choices and actions. A study of the cognitive structures through listening to how actors talk about their actions also provides evidence of how the norms and regulations functioning as background and foreground of social action have constrained and enabled these actors. The study looks for evidence of resistance and change particularly by looking for diffusion, path dependency, bricolage, translation and enactment.

Chapter 3

Literature Review

Introduction

This literature review will explore themes that exist within the institutional field of contemporary slavery and education responses. Research into contemporary slavery has, to this point, been mostly focused on quantification of the social problem. When the work by Bales (1999) was published, it introduced many to the reality of slavery in its contemporary form although there is no indication to suggest the problem began at this point. Current literature dealing specifically with education and slavery is particularly limited. There are however significant bodies of work around related issues. This work forms part of the institutional background to current organizational practices as well as providing an avenue to understand the cognitive aspects of organizational practice. It is important to understand the cognitive and normative factors that make up both the background and foreground within the institutional field.

Education and Child Slavery

Education is identified as the key factor in the reintegration of child slaves into their communities (Unicef, 2003; ILO, 2002a; 2002b; ILO & IPEC, 2000). At the same time, the education sector (organized formal and non-formal education) is viewed as having an important role in educating about slavery as a way to equip vulnerable children with the information they need to avoid becoming enslaved. Perhaps the most significant

link between education and slavery is the role that universal compulsory education might have on preventing the exploitation of children as slaves.

While few would support child slavery in any outright way, it is interesting to note the effects of the wider discourse on children and work and how this affects understandings of appropriate responses and the legitimization of particular practices of preventing and eliminating child slavery. Internationally, there are two main views dominating the debate regarding children and work. One position suggests that work provides an important opportunity for children to learn and participate in society and should be supported, if not encouraged, through both policy and practice. Nieuwenhys (1996) argues that excluding children from the world of work "sets children aside as a category of people excluded from the production of value" (p.242) and that there needs to be a wider understanding of the role of places outside the family and the school "as legitimate places to grow up" (p.246). Leibel (2004) extends this argument to suggest that working children's economic contributions and social recognition are of equal importance for children's development as subjects, and that children's work should be recognized as an essential activity. Therefore, efforts should be made to provide working conditions for children that are appropriate to human dignity and provide just financial rewards. Leibel also accuses those taking an anti-child labour position of refusing to understand that work, under certain circumstances, can become a "free expression of life for children" (p.9). Perhaps the most influential champions of this *child's right to work* position are Meyer and Boyden (cf. 2001, 1998). Meyer (2001) presents a strongly worded case for support for work for children based on a child-centered perspective that "understands children to be resilient as well as vulnerable, to be capable as well as

inexperienced, to be characterized by knowledge as well as ignorance, to have a variety of intelligences as well as learning needs, and to be active rather than passive agents in their own development" (p. 11). Few who have worked closely with children would disagree with this description of the capabilities of children, however, not all would support the position that these capabilities mean that there should be more support for child work. What Meyer& Boyden do not include in their argument is a recognition of the context within which work takes place and how this context impacts the decisions children make surrounding work.

Without recognizing the realities of an increasingly unregulated marketplace, these proponents of a *child's right to work* neglect to address wider implications of working for children. As Gross (2003) claims, "a lack of human rights attention has contributed to workers being seen as expendable in worldwide economic development and their needs and concerns not being represented at conferences on the world economy dominated by bankers, finance ministers, and multinational corporations" (p. 3). As well, as van den Anker (2004) points out, "globalization contributes to exacerbated poverty, which leaves more people vulnerable to contemporary slavery, such as chattel slavery, child labour, trafficking, bonded labour and abuse of domestic worker" (p. 3). Van den Anker then identifies the complexity of the role of globalization: "on the other hand, globalization contributes to more effective campaigns to raise awareness and to better international legal mechanisms to combat contemporary slavery" (p. 3). She concludes that the principles of global justice necessary in forming policy recommendations are "respect for the human rights of victims, a cosmopolitan impartiality (justice for all) …respect for the agency of victims, the long-term goal of structural change to the 'rules

of the game' of global capitalism, and the provision of support to develop viable alternative livelihoods (p. 35). Dower (2004) suggests what is needed to reduce contemporary slavery is

> a legal, institutional and cultural framework which makes it more difficult for enslavers to do what they do, such as effective legislation, and a public moral culture deeply antithetical to it. What is needed to reduce the likelihood of victims getting enslaved is a reduction in the conditions of extreme poverty (p. 198).

While this may seem a somewhat oversimplified analysis of what change is needed, it points to the need for firm ethical principles supported by regulative, normative and cognitive structures if change is to take place.

Another position in the children and work discourse is one that suggests education should be the primary focus for children regardless of whom they are or where they live. This then implies the abolition of child labour through a focus on the universality of access to education. The *Education for All* initiative has been taken up in various ways by states and organizations at local, national and international levels. Unfortunately, and for many reasons, this initiative to date has reported few improvements in either education attainment for the poor or in any real disruption of the numbers of children working rather than attending school.

> The quest to achieve Education for All (EFA) is fundamentally about assuring that children, youth and adults gain the knowledge and skills they need to better their lives and to play a role in building more peaceful and equitable societies. (UNESCO, 2004, Foreword).

There is a growing recognition that education plays an important role in social development and this is reflected in a variety of international policies and initiatives focused on improving both access to education and quality of education with a push for the universalization of education. While some argue that exploitive child labour is a result of poverty, for example, this factory owner in India states, "Children of the poor [are] the mainstay of their families and not allowing them to work would lead to greater hardship and misery for them" (Watson in Burra, 1997, p. 4). Others suggest it is the failure of governments and schools to provide universal access to education and to provide education that is relevant and accessible to all children that creates situations where children are exploited. Burra (1997) describes the result of this policy tension in India. On the one side, supporters of the idea that labour exploitation of children is caused by poverty focus on better regulation of working conditions for children who work out of necessity. This position has led to suggestions of child unions and the inclusion of children in worker compensation schemes. On the other side, are those that suggest child labour must be prohibited and this is best done through policies of universal compulsory education. From this perspective, issues of the how child labour functions to perpetuate exploitation were also raised:

> [it is unlikely] that ratepayers will be very keen on paying for education which will also steal from them the cheapest form of their labour. If you stop their labour first, we may hear more about primary education in our industrial area (Gov't of India, 1921 in Burra, 1997, p. 4).

Recent work by Kabeer (2001) suggests that causal factors for child labour exploitation and causal factors for educational provision failures are mutually reinforcing

(p. 25). This position suggests policy initiatives that discern issues of both child labour and education. This position is also reflected in the standards adopted by the International Labour Organization (ILO) and ratified by a significant majority of countries. These standards, outlined in the ILO Convention No. 182, *Eliminating the worst forms of child labour*, (ILO, 2002) state that child labour is work that is

> mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to children; and interferes with their school by depriving them of the opportunity to attend school; by obliging them to leave school prematurely; or by requiring them to attempt to combine school attendance with excessively long and heavy work. (p. 15)

In addition, the minimum age for work was adopted internationally in the ratification of Convention No. 138, The minimum age convention, 1973. This convention set the general minimum age for work as "not less than age of completion of compulsory schooling, and in any case not less than 15 years; except where the economy and educational facilities are insufficiently developed where it was set at "not less than 14 years for an initial period" (p. 17). By 2002, 116 countries had ratification status, with minimum working ages set at 14, 15 or 16 years. The Minimum Age Recommendation, 1973 (No. 146) follows up No. 138 with recommendations on how national governments should support their ratification of Minimum age standards. Governments were expected:

- to ensure policies were in place regarding age standards
- to ensure that conditions of employment of anyone under 18 be supervised closely

- that strict limitations be put on work for those under 18 years of age, to provide adequate time for education and training, homework related to education, for rest during the day and for leisure activities
- provide a minimum consecutive period of 12 hours of night rest, and of customary weekly rest days
- the granting of annual holiday with pay
- coverage by social security schemes
- the maintenance of standards of safety, health, appropriate instruction and supervision

- to ensure enforcement measures were in place including
  - strengthened and coordinated labour inspection
  - improved training
  - issuance of licenses or documents indicating eligibility to work (p. 130-135)

Other international influences on the child-work debate include the adoption by the United National General Assembly in November 1989 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, which has been ratified by most countries of the world. This Convention, as well as the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (UN, 1966) established that children have the right to be protected from economic exploitation and any work that is likely to be hazardous; to interfere with the child's education; or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development. In 1992, the ILO launched the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC); in 1995, recognition of the prohibition of child

labour as one of four basic workers' rights to be respected in all countries was established with the adoption of the Declaration and Programme of Action by the World Summit for Social Development; and in 1998 the Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work affirmed the need to abolish child labour. The US Department of Labor (2005) evaluated the compliance of countries with regard to labour standards and has proposed indicators for use in monitoring child labor (US Dept of Labor, 2005). Recommendations include ratification and enforcement of the international conventions discussed here. There are strong suggestions for state actions focusing on the involvement in and enforcement of child labor laws and regulations. The norms established by the international community are quite clearly in favor of close regulation of children and work. So an obvious question is, since limiting the work of children and adolescents is so widely considered normatively appropriate, how can we understand the wide ranging increases in child slavery?

Education and Development

The education provided to former child slaves exists within the complex area of 'development' which is understood to be economic, social, and cultural. Traditional development theory focuses on development interventionism that, along with universal market liberalization, is assumed to provide the context for individuals to advance through modernization. Post-development theories, while ranging from anti-development to alternate development, are based on people centered, locally situated efforts, and present an effective alternative way of exploring the relationship of education and the needs of former slaves. (cf. Rahnema, 1997; Escobar, 1995; Alvares, 1994)

The current globalization of de-development and underdevelopment, as evidenced by increases in global poverty rates, decreased life expectancy, and the deterioration of the quality of life for many of the world's people (UNDP, 2003), poses questions as to the actual goals of the linear development model supported by multilateral organizations, international financial institutions, international aid programs, the business sector, as well as national governments. Such linear development approaches exist within an economic growth model of development and a push for modernization. This system serves to constrain education provision to conform to the modernity model that relies on market determinism. For example, if the market requires a particular type of worker, then support is channelled to education programming that will create such market ready workers. Schools are encouraged to locate students' points of productivity and provide education accordingly and thus, from this perspective, the key role of education is fulfilling the need for workers. Workers are educated specifically to the level needed to fulfill this employment space. "This traditional educational system in both content and structure is a poor preparation for life in the 21st century; it meets neither the personal needs of individuals nor the development needs of their societies" (Rihani, 2002, p. 209).

Rihani's position reflects a growing awareness that poverty is created by a system where access to economic benefits is restricted through institutional and regulatory negotiations that exist outside individuals and local communities. The majority of the world's people and communities became the development project of the rich, industrialized countries through government and corporate agencies. This development was "framed not in the language of rights and justice, but with the vocabulary of charity,

technical expertise, neutrality and a deep paternalism" (Manji, 1998, p. 98). Education programs came to support this interventionist development paradigm, either through external funding conditionalities (e.g., donor funding targeted toward computer assisted instruction, a donor country priority) or direct influence on local education policy.

Alternatively, as Sen (1999) suggests, education is vital to freedom, which is the key to human development. This position suggests building capacity for participation in society. From this perspective, freedom is a function of institutional relations including human rights, democratic participation, the absence of oppression and repressive structures and the freedom to interact. This requires what Sen describes as capacity. Capacity, as a means to human development, involves having the capability to interact within society, which requires the existence of health, education, physical, and social security (Sen, 1999). Education has a particularly important role in not only developing individual capacity but in revealing and linking capacities for freedom (Meyer-Bisch, 2005).

> A systemic approach to individual capacities... is driven by the principle of the indivisibility of human rights, which is to be seen in the interdependence of capacities. On its own, a capacity is nothing; education consists in revealing and linking affective, intellectual and physical social, artistic, technical and spiritual capacities. (p. 21).

In this approach to development, education must be anchored by the goals of creating engaged citizens, able to capably exercise their rights of participation as full citizens.

Human Rights Approach to Education

A human rights based approach to education policy is concerned with individual and group entitlements to basic services and in this, politicizes the lack of these services and opportunities. A rights-based approach to education provides a means for students, families, and local communities to claim social justice (DFID, 1999; Ferguson, 1999; ODI, 1999; Hauserman, 1998). For students who need particular focus on regaining agency and efficacy to effect positive changes in their lives, this approach provides the possibility of shifting from material needs fulfilment to engagement as social agents as a means of fulfilling their needs. "While needs based approaches help to identify the resource requirements of particular groups, rights based approaches provide a means of strengthening people's claims to those resources" (Ferguson, 1999, p. 9). Educational discourse moves from being productivist, where students function as future participants in the economic system, to a discourse around engagement in the socio-cultural, economic, and political contexts of their lives.

A human rights based approach to education policy provides a framework that politicizes the experience of slaves and their education needs. "Rights dignify individuals, rather than patronising them. Victims…become claimants of rights, rather than objects of charity" (Curtis, 2001, p. 15). For children who have been enslaved and those who are vulnerable to becoming enslaved, the normative influence of human rights as a frame for action within the institutional field of education provision, holds the possibility of emancipation, empowerment, and justice and a means to claim the rewards and benefits of social, cultural, political, and economic participation in society.

Education Providers within the Institutional Field

As the key means of collective action, organizations exist as a result of and in support of most aspects of our daily lives. In the context of this research project, education organizations enact an important societal response to slavery and play a decisive role in the future of children removed from slavery and include pre-primary, primary and secondary schools; universities and colleges; vocational, technical and other training institutions, as well as organizations providing short term, non-credentialed programs The work of these organizations cannot be neutral in their impact as, for example, Vanek (1975) identifies, education is formal or 'life-oriented', socializing or mobilizing, dominating or liberating. Freire also identified the importance of understanding that education serves to facilitate certain outcomes and not others:

> The organization of the programmatic content of education is an eminently political act...Thus, in concerning myself with what should be known, I am also necessarily involved with why it needs to be known, how, to what end... and in whose interests. (Freire, 1978, p. 15).

Education organizations also have a preventive role and impact the possibilities of children who may be enslaved in the future without significant local and global changes. Education for children vulnerable to being enslaved and previously marginalized in the contemporary slavetrade is provided by state delivered programs, local community based organizations (CBO), local (NGO) and international (INGO) development non-governmental organizations. Providers include private, public, and non-profit organizations. Public education is provided through state mechanisms, including all forms of governance and funding. State officials, accountable (in many

cases) to the electorate, are ultimately responsible for decision-making. Private education is provided through private businesses whose key objective is profit-making. The company owners or shareholders hold decision-making power regarding policy, funding and programming. Non-profit education programming is provided through organizations whose objectives are social rather than economic, and whose financial surpluses are reinvested into the organization. Governance is by a group of people independent from the state. Formal education refers to the structured education system provided by the state. It includes a long-term focus on preparation of children for adulthood. Formal education programs are usually part of a system leading to credentials. Non-formal education, in contrast, is usually non-credentialed, not compulsory and may or may not be state supported. Non-formal education takes place outside the formally organized school. Many non-formal education projects focus on life-oriented, transformational and politically mobilizing programs and activities. In relation to this study, it is of interest how these parts of the education system work together and separately. What is the relationship between formal and nonformal education? How do the activities in one area affect the other areas within the system?

Osman (2005) as well as Friboulet (2005) and Meyer-Bisch (2005) propose an integrated approach to formal and nonformal education as a way of ensuring the universality of education. The Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) established that education plays a key role in ensuring that these rights are universal. This covenant established four essential aspects of education in relation to the right to education:

1. It must be *accessible* including non-discriminatory, physically accessible, and without obstacles such as excessive school fees
2. It must be *acceptable,* which implies providing education that is relevant or of high standard in both form and content.
3. It must be *adaptable,* which suggests that the needs of the local communities and societies must drive the change process.
4. It must be *available,* which suggests an adequate provision of human and material resources. (Friboulet, 2005; Meyer-Bisch,2005; Osman, 2005)

In an integrated system of education provision, non-governmental actors are mainly mobilized for access to basic education and vocational training, either to increase enrolment capacity and to improve formal education supply, or to diversify provision through non-formal education and adapt it to audiences that were previously excluded. (Osman, 2005, p. 11). Meyer-Bisch (2005) presents an integrated approach that connects individual and institutional capacities around the education system capacities of acceptability, adaptability, adequate provision of resources and accessibility (p. 24). He suggests that the links and relationships within the integrated system reveals buried capacities and capabilities (p. 21).

The recent Symposium on the Implementation of Alternative approaches in the Context of Quality Education for All, 2005, concluded that education programs and interventions be marked by:

- The will of ownership and involvement of beneficiaries who become actors in the education programs

- An approach to education which is integrated into social and economic development, adapted to the environment, and prepares children, youth, and adults to transform this environment
- Increasingly considers institutional work, in order to focus analyses on the problems of education systems, and to create the synergy necessary to change traditional systems which are in crisis. (Osman, 2005, p 11).

Such changes in traditional education provision suggests significant transformations of education partnerships.

Chapter 4

Methodology

A Constructivist Epistemological Approach

At its most basic, the constructivist position holds that the mind is active in the construction of knowledge and an understanding that we construct this knowledge against a backdrop of understandings, practices, and language. "Humans harbour inherent tendencies to think, categorize and process information, and it is these tendencies, rather than features of the world in itself, that are of paramount importance in fashioning knowledge" (Gergen, 1985). This is in contrast to a positivist paradigm which holds that knowledge is objective, absolute and based on a single truth that can be universally uncovered and understood. This also contrasts with realist and empiricist views that knowledge simply reflects or mirrors what is already in existence "out there", as well as the realist position that meanings are fixed entities. As Berger and Luckman (1966) point out, a constructivist epistemology understands that there are diverse kinds of knowledge and equally diverse ways of "knowing" that are constructed, co-constructed and re-constructed by social actors within their lived contexts. Fey (1996) describes the notion of constructivism as *perspectivism*, highlighting the essential characteristic of knowledge claims being that they take place within a conceptual framework that is the filter through which the world is understood and described.

In this process, the contexts for constructing knowledge become sites of struggle. "A crucial determinant of the outcomes of knowledge encounters is the degree of

legitimacy attached to, or bestowed upon, different kinds of knowledge" (Brock, McGee & Gaventa, 2004, p. 14). Critical theorists have established that power is embedded in everyday life. As Rouse (1996) suggests social constructivism is based on the assumption that "knowledge is not disinterested, apolitical and exclusive of affective and embodied aspects of human experience, but is in some sense ideological, political and permeated with values (p. 213). Foucault (1980) challenges us to understand how the embeddedness of power structures the processes of knowledge construction thereby making knowledge arbitrary and resulting embedded power structures. However, Barry Allen (1999) points out a difficulty with Foucault's understanding of power structures:

> We misunderstand the relation between knowledge and power when we assume that any 'knowledge' convenient for power must be a mere so-called knowledge that is really false (or otherwise defective). Like more and more of what we ask from knowledge or find it plausible to expect its authorities to say, the production of new knowledge had become aligned with corporate, disciplinary, and administrative power. (p. 70)

The tension in understanding the role of power is in identifying the extent to which power is constructed through discourse and discursive practices and the extent to which discourse and practice are constituted by the subject or subjects. Thomas, Meyer, Ramirez & Boli (1987) argue that at the institutional level the actor carries out an action but is created by this action at the same time. The institutionalization of particular ideas or actions generates these very same ideas and actions while the institution at the same time, is created by the ideas and actions. Schwandt (2000) suggests orientations toward constructivism range from weak to strong (p. 198-200) reflecting differences in

understanding to what extent we are constructed by institutional structures and to what extent we construct these structures. Weak or limited constructivism accepts that power limits the range of what is possible while strong constructivism accepts a more extensive and complete notion of epistemological relativism. Hacking (1999) also recognizes the complexity within social constructivist positions in her description of a range from mild to radical constructivism reflecting a range of understandings of agency and structure and degrees of relativism.

This study takes up a middle position on the continuum of constructivist approaches, suggesting that while knowledge is constructed, co-constructed and reconstructed within a particular social context, the structural restraints on this process are essential elements to consider. This critical constructivist epistemology supposes that we both construct and are constructed by our context. Finnemore (1996) demonstrates the utility of a critical constructivist approach vis-à-vis dominant, interest-based paradigms, in her study of three cases that identified patterns of norms that are powerful influences across the spectrum of international politics. She argues that a constructivist epistemological position is the most effective position from which to understand how social norms and logics shape or constitute the political and social world. Finnemore also suggests that "norms ..involve reconfigurations of interests and actors in ways that cannot be accommodated within the agent-oriented perspectives that dominate political science and economics. The norms [in institutional analysis] are 'constitutive' in the sense that they constitute, create or revise the actors or interests which agent-oriented approaches take as a given" (p.129).

Study Design

A qualitative approach to research suggests an interest in understanding the multiple realities and multiple truths that exist within a given context and that the researcher's job is to grasp the categories the participants use to frame their own worldview. Bogdan & Biklen (1982) describe the process of qualitative analysis as "working with the data, organizing it, breaking it into manageable units, synthesizing it, searching it for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned and deciding what I will tell others" (p. 145).

Contemporary slavery exhibits characteristics that suggest it is a problem that exists in a complex system of economic, political and social relationships affecting people locally and globally. Little research is available that discusses the role of education in the lives of children who have been enslaved, released and enrolled in education programs or how education might be a tool to disrupt increases in child slavery. By studying how actors within the institutional field of education provision think and work within this system, it is possible to understand inter-organizational and organization-institution relations and explore the patterns that underlie these relations to identify the potential for social change.

The study has a two phase design with the first phase focused on identifying the actors within the institutional field and exploring how ideas (normative and cognitive) exist within this field; identifying the actors within the field and how are they responsible for making ideas matter; and exploring how institutional change might take place. Phase two, a case study, that, as Campbell (2004) suggests, provides an important fine-grained look at causal mechanisms that either facilitate or restrict change particularly when used in a multi-method research approach (p.56). Nilan (2002)

suggests that "choosing a combination of methods constitute[s] a valuable tool for investigating the complex relationship between social structure and human agency" (p.364). This study incorporates a range of methodologies including interviews, document analysis, unstructured conversations and field observations to achieve this purpose.

Phase One

The study began with a search for organizations working in the area of child slavery who were involved in the provision of education programming either as prevention, intervention or rehabilitation. The literature indicated that the institutional field involved

- Local, national and international organizations working in the area of slavery prevention, rehabilitation, or advocacy. These organizations include formal education organizations such as schools and departments of education, as well as agencies in the nonformal sector including local, national and international community based organizations and non-governmental organizations.
- Government departments responsible for programming related to slavery, including ministries of education, social welfare, labour, community development, international relations/cooperation

As Farquharson (2003) suggests, an effective way to identify policy network members is to use a chain referral process or what is also known as a snowball technique. In its simplest form, the snowball technique consists of identifying respondents who then are asked to suggest others within the field who should be included in the research

(Atkinson & Flint, 2001; Vogt, 1999). It is an effective form of link tracing methodology (Atkinson & Flint, 2001) and an effective technique in finding research subjects who are difficult to find (Farquharson, 2003; Vogt, 1999). This chain referral process is also considered to be a practical method for studies that are explorative and qualitative (Farquharson, 2003; Atkinson & Flint, 2001; Hendricks, Blanken & Adriaans, 1992). Interviews are a data collection method used most often with this sampling process and as Van Meter (1990) suggests, it is a very effective way to "study up" from an issue to explore the context.

A Chain of Institutional Actors

The referral chain used in this study started at the organization *Free the Slaves* and followed the referral process as identified. Organizations included are: Anti-Slavery International; Canadian Aid to Southern Sudan; Canadian International Development Agency; Save the Children Canada; Save the Children Alliance; Commonwealth Education Fund; ActionAid; Butterflies . South Asia Coalition on Child Servitude; International Labour Organization; International Program on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC); UNESCO; Antislavery International; Global March Against Child Labour; Global Campaign for Education. This group of organizations was not intended to be an exhaustive coverage of the institutional field by any means, but in the process of selection, organizations names were sought until there was an established pattern and a repetition of actors being identified. For the purpose of this study, these organizations were identified as actors within the institutional field and able to provide the necessary information to understand the institutional and policy context for responding to increases in child slavery.

Phase One Data Collection

For the purpose of document analysis, documents were obtained either from staff during interviews, through emails that were exchanged before or after the interview, or through public access to published documents via the internet (See Appendix A). Access to much of this material was simplified by its location on organizational websites. The documents consisted of policy statements, program evaluations, newsletters and inter-organizational and extra-organizational communications.

Information in phase one was also collected in 14 formal, preset interview settings, using a semi-structured question format. This is based on the idea that cognitive structures are revealed in the talk and actions of people within the field. Therefore, if we want to know what the understood legitimate practice is in the field we need to ask those working in the field as they are the best source of this information. The intent in this study was to use the interview process not as a neutral tool of data gathering but an active interaction with organization staff that would lead to a negotiated and contextually based understanding of the data (Fontana & Fey, 2000). The interviews were semi-structured to allow the participants a wider range for interaction and to contribute their own thoughts. An interview guide was provided to participants as an introduction to the general topics to be explored during the interview. The guide also made interviewing multiple subjects more systematic and helped to keep interactions focused. In all cases, I was welcomed and found the interview participants eager to provide their organization's information. In fact,

several of the people interviewed asked that I use their names, rather than represent their contribution anonymously. They were proud of the work their organization accomplished and wanted the information attributed. I explained that because that was not the case for all participants that I would still need to maintain their anonymity for this study. Participants were generous with their time for interviews and were very willing to provide organizational documents for the study.

Phase One Data Analysis

Information was collected regarding the origin and development of the organization in terms of community context, exclusivity and inclusivity of the organization (relationships to other organizations), institutional capacity including leadership, participation and organization culture, and institutional linkages including collective action, information exchange and levels of efficacy. In addition, ideational patterns in understandings of child slavery and child work, of appropriate interventions, of causal factors and possibilities for change were explored. In order to maintain confidentiality and anonymity promised in the interview agreements, I have used names of the organizations only in the analysis that draws on public documents because this was helpful in building an understanding of the actors that exist within the institutional field. Documents also were important to build an understanding of the normative and cognitive structures within the field and are aggregated for reporting to build an overall picture of the institutional field. To protect the anonymity of individuals who agreed to be interviewed, I analyzed the interviews in two stages, first

individually, then the themes and data were aggregated for reporting to provide a picture of the cognitive structures within the institutional field.

Interview data were analyzed first individually to understand the following:

- Who is this actor and what is their relationship with other actors within the field?
- What ideas and practice are seen as legitimate?
- How are institutional pressures responded to? For example, what evidence is there for conformity and resistance to institutional pressures?
- How does the organization affect the institutional field? For example, does this person and/or organization play a role in institutional change?

Phase Two

The second phase of research used a case study approach as Stake (2000) suggests, is an appropriate approach when the study seeks to gain knowledge of the particular that may be recognizable in other contexts. This type of naturalistic generalization is made available through the experience of interacting with the ideas and practice of people within a particular context, thereby providing learning for the people who are engaged in the interaction.

> [We] derive from the tacit knowledge of how things are, why they are, how people feel about them, and how these things are likely to be later or in other places with which this person is familiar. (Stake, 2000, p. 22)

Hammersley, Gomm & Foster (2000) indicate that one value of using case study methodology is that it can

> uncover the causal processes linking inputs and outputs within a system...moreover, some argue that through case study we can actually *see* causal relationships occurring in particular instances. (p. 234-235)

This is particularly helpful in a study involving institutional analysis. Campbell (2004) argues that case studies are well suited and effective means for identifying the mechanisms involved in institutional change, particularly mechanisms of enactment (p. 79). Also as highlighted by Campbell (2005; 2004), the strength of the case study in institutional analysis is that it provides an effective means to understand how new ideas, principles, and practices diffuse to a given locale and are translated fully into practice.

Phase Two Data Collection

Two visits were made to the case study site, the *Liberation Education*[2] program in India, over a period of 10 months with each visit lasting approximately 4 weeks. During this time, I met many times with staff members, joined in classes and workshops at the rehabilitation centres for children rescued from slavery, attended youth leadership events organized by the students of these centres, and visited 13 communities involved in a exploitive child labour prevention program. I volunteered my skills to help with the "Education for All" campaign that the organization was heading up. Field notes were kept throughout the project. These notes were based on observations of people, actions and events and form a record of my impressions and perceptions of what was

[2] The name of this organization has been changed as per the research ethics contract between the researcher and participants.

happening around me. This record helps to achieve the "thick description" so important in a case study (Rossman & Rallis, 2003; Brewer, 2000; Denzin, 1994). Between the two visits I kept in close communication with staff members and these relationships have continued since leaving the field. In fact, the director and I agreed that one of the ways I could assist the organization was to "write the story" of the *Liberation Education* Program. We agreed that my time at the rehabilitation centre was good for my research but could also benefit the staff and children if I was able to write about the history of the organization. Therefore, by the end of my time with this organization, I had developed friendships and relationships that will continue past the life of this particular research project.

Case study data were collected through semi-structured interviews with organization staff; discussions with children in the rehabilitation and prevention programs; and semi-formal and informal interviews with local educators involved with the program and with those people identified as connected to the education organization. This included members of other organizations within the institutional field. Information in the form of field data were obtained through informal conversations with staff, participants in organizational programs and community volunteers. Field data also include observations made over the research period. Organizational documents were obtained through public access, particularly from the organization website but also from staff working in the various program areas of the organization.

In the initial design for the research, I had decided not to seek interviews with the children who had been rescued from slavery. This was based on reflections of my role as an outsider and what was ethically appropriate in that insider-outsider

relationship. I didn't really know how such interviews would be perceived and what impact they would have on the children and staff. Given the focus of the study on institutional change and the need to 'study up" from the experience of child slaves, I decided that by using a triangulated process to check research findings I would be able to ensure that the data I was gathering reflected the experience of slavery for the front line workers and the children involved in their programs. I discussed this decision with one of the staff early in my first visit and he said that in his experience, it was perhaps impossible to really capture the children's full "story" because most often even they are not yet capable of speaking deeply about the abuse that they experienced. This confirmed what I had originally decided and I did not seek to gather information by interviewing children. However, I was definitely involved with them and their impact on me was significant.

On my first visit to the organization I spent several days with the children and staff at two of the rehabilitation sites. I was able to visit them during literacy classes, vocational education classes, leadership programs and during their social times. One evening I was meeting with organization staff and I decided to stop by to visit the children before returning to my hotel. I was invited to join the children as they roasted corn over an open fire, a special treat after a long week of study. I was then the "honoured" guest at an impromptu cultural show where the children performed songs and dances from many of India's diverse cultural groups. I returned the favour by teaching some Canadian action songs and drama games. It was wonderful to play and laugh with the children and be invited into their informal interactions.

Another evening I spent with the children asking me questions about my life in Canada (they said it was only fair if I got to ask them questions). They even put on some lively Punjabi pop music and taught me some new dance moves, and we laughed and danced well past their usual bedtime. As we were closing and there was time for one last question one child stood and said to me:

> *Ok, it was great to have you here. You are fun and nice, but what will you do when you leave? Can you get my friend out of slavery? He is still in the quarry.*

Swallowing a rising sense of powerlessness, I asked, "What would you like me to do?" His response, and what was confirmed by his fellow students, was that I should "*tell people about us*". And I agreed that I would tell as many people as I could. Based on the discussion with staff, I decided that the story I should tell is the collective story rather than individual stories. The experiences of the children included in this study are not from individual interviews, but from interviews with staff who have worked for years with children, from organization documents, and from my field observations from close interactions with the children as they participated in the rehabilitation program at the *Liberation Education* Program.

Issues of Research Location

The issue of whether or not to include interviews with the children raised important questions about being a researcher in a case study. A study that includes working across locations requires special consideration from the researcher. I am not personally located within an education community working on educating former child slaves, although I do participate in local and national public engagement efforts such as hosting speakers and organizing information sessions. This study required international travel, as well as face-

to-face and electronic communication with people working in diverse organizations where, for a variety of reasons, I was an outsider. Tamale (1996) suggests being an outsider is an inevitable part of all research with the multiple identities of individuals making it inevitable that we share some statuses with the researched group and not others (p. 477). Naples (1996) states "the bipolar construction of insider/outsider sets up a false separation that neglects the interactive processes through which

> 'insiderness' and 'outsiderness' are constructed. 'Outsiderness' and 'insiderness' are not fixed or static positions, rather they are ever-shifting and permeable social locations that are differently experienced and expressed by community members" (p. 84)

While being an insider presents opportunities and access to information and understandings that are more difficult for outsiders, the role of outsider also has benefit. The complexity of the construction of insider/outsiderness as a block to access and/or an opening to access is evident in a recent conversation I had with a gender specialist for a network of development organizations working in Asia. He responded to my inquiries regarding people's willingness to participate in my research by saying 'western' women are often considered to be of a third gender, and therefore considered 'safe', therefore people, both men and women, are quite open to speaking freely about important issues with them (Personal Communication, Gender specialist, 2003). While this may or may not be the case in a given research situation, it does highlight the importance of attending to the issues of negotiating entry into the research context with an open mind. As Naples (1996) suggests,

> by recognizing the fluidity of outsiderness/insiderness, we also acknowledge three key methodological points: as ethnographers we are never fully outside or inside the community; our relationship to the community is never expressed in general terms but is constantly being negotiated and renegotiated in particular, everyday interactions; and these interactions are themselves located in shifting relationships among community residents. (p. 84)

During this study, much of my journaling and reflection was working through issues of identity and insiderness/outsiderness.

The Ethic of Care

Researchers have identified the importance of approaching the research from a position of 'caring'.

> The ethic of caring emphasizes individual uniqueness, the appropriateness of emotions in dialogues, and the capacity for empathy.... The ethic of caring is one way to break down power differentials and experiential differences between the researcher and the researched (Naples, 1996, p. 101).

This research project required that I intentionally negotiate relationships with those being studied at the same time that I negotiate access to their experience and knowledge. Patton (1992) reminds us that "the researcher's passion is understanding the world in all its complexity – not proving something, not advocating, not advancing personal agendas"(p. 41). However, Harrison, MacGibbon, & Morton, (2001) demand "Whose side are you

on?"(p. 339). Drawing on Fine (1992) they identify the need to identify the position that we as researchers take within the research context.

Fine (1992) identifies three positions, each with ethical and political implications for the research, the researcher and the researched. *The Ventriloquist* researcher tells the truth' from a distance. This position "embodies, institutionally, researcher's refusal to acknowledge their personal involvement as they construct the very worlds they write about (p. 214). *The Voice* researcher hides just below the surface, having given the marginalized a chance to speak through the researcher's work. Described as a "subtler form of ventriloquism" (p. 215) this role for the researcher allows the researcher to avoid identifying his/her own effect on the power relations and the construction of knowledge. The third position, *The Activist* "seeks to unearth, disrupt and transform existing institutional arrangements" (p. 211) through "positioning [as] self-conscious, critical, and participatory analysts, engaged with but still distinct from our informants. Such research commits to the study of change, the move toward change, and/or is provocative of change (p. 220). Within this study of slavery and education, I have strived to work from an activist position, understanding my own involvement in constructing the research context and constructing the meaning making that comes from this context, while at the same time seeking to include a diversity of information by continuously moving between theory and practice as well as the particular case and the institutional field.

Phase Two Data Analysis

Document analysis included an examination of policy documents, meeting notes, program descriptions, organizational charts and records. Documents were examined to find evidence of principles, values, norms, policies and procedures related to

the issue of child slavery, including how it is understood to exist, how it should be addressed and how it might be prevented. Particular focus was on determining how the organization approached the role of education as a tool for change. Documented evidence of working relationships with other organizations was also explored.

Interview data were used to understand how the norms within the institutional field are enacted and/or resisted. The same questions used in phase one were used to analyze phase two data:

- Who is this actor and what is their relationship with other actors within the field?
- What ideas and practice are seen as legitimate?
- How are institutional pressures responded to? For example, what evidence is there for conformity and resistance to institutional pressures?
- How does the organization affect the institutional field? For example, does this person and/or organization play a role in institutional change?

Information from the various sources was aggregated to explain how the organization existed within the institutional field.

Research Results

Increasing Credibility and Validity

Because of the stated limitations of this study, particular efforts were needed to ensure credibility of the study. Rossman & Rallis (2003) suggest five methods to address issues of trustworthiness and credibility: triangulation, prolonged engagement,

participant validation, peer debriefer, and using the community of practice (p. 69). These methods were used in this study to varying degrees. Data collected through interviews were compared to data collected by observation, document analysis and informal discussion. My involvement with the organization was developed over time and continues to deepen through ongoing conversations. Data collected in the first visit was compared to data collected in the second visit, 10 months later. All interview data were transcribed and sent to the interviewee for checking. Interestingly, there was little feedback from interviewees in Phase One regarding any changes to the data. In the case study, one of the staff members became the main person with whom I check my findings and we have an ongoing discussion about the research and the issues that surround the issue.

Presentation of Findings

The data from the study are presented in three chapters. The document analysis in the first data chapter provides evidence of the paper trail (Campbell, 2005; Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998) of what is considered legitimate practice, and identifies the roles and influences exerted by the actors in the field in order to frame what is institutionally legitimate and appropriate action. These roles and influences are linked to relationships within the field to help understand how connections within the field act as restraining and enabling forces and form what Campbell (2005) describes as the powerful but often invisible, background of the institutional field. The interview data, presented in the second data chapter, provide a view of the ideas and practices that result from the institutional pressures as well as evidence of cognitively imagined change (Campbell, 2005). In this chapter we are provided a look at the foreground of the institutional field

and begin to see patterns of resistance and potential change. "Because foreground ideas [can be] contested and [are]often used to challenge the status quo, they tend to facilitate or enable change" (Campbell, 2005, p. 93). These first two data chapters, one exploring the policy context and the other presenting the shared ideas and institutional building blocks, precede the case study in order to provide a frame to understand the case study data. The organization studied has in many ways, challenged conventional education practices for children exploited by slavery. Therefore, it in order to make sense of the data that came from the case study organization, I have arranged the data starting from the background of the institutional field (Campbell, 2005) and worked forward to the case study thereby weaving the macro - analysis of norms and regulative legitimizing pressures, with the case study data. A full discussion and analysis is then presented thereby taking the data from the micro-level back to the macro-level for analysis. The research questions are addressed to provide very specific understandings of how education might be more effective as a tool for social change in the context of working with children who have been enslaved or vulnerable to becoming enslaved.

In reporting the findings, I have used a mixed format for writing that combines participant centered and writer centered reporting. Sarantakos (2005) indicates that this reporting choice can effectively present life in the study setting "realistically", as well as presenting the researcher's personal views and understandings, thereby offering a valid "stereoscopic view of life in the field" (p. 409) that provides depth and solidity.

Chapter 5

Exploring the Policy Context

Introduction

This chapter explores the policy context for work with children who have been rescued from slavery or who are vulnerable to being enslaved. It is important to understand this context and the institutional field it creates because this will tell us what ideas and practices are seen as legitimate and appropriate. It is also possible to identify institutional pressures that frame conformity and resistance. This in turn will provide insights into how education is being provided and perhaps most important, how education provision can be changed to more effectively address the needs of these children. The institutional field is made up of organizational actors that construct and are constructed by the relationships that exist within that field. This chapter will examine a sample of organizations, identified by field actors as representing the field, to understand their role and location in the institutional field as well as how their intersubjectivity affects institutional norms.

Data in this chapter came from three sources. Quoted data were primarily from policy documents that I received while visiting the organization as well as other data accessed through organization websites. In all cases the information that has been presented has been cross checked with my own observations while visiting the organizations and/or through interviews with organization staff and/or participants. Therefore the quotes used in the written text of the chapter have been chosen because they are in a format that is useable in this context but it should be understood that the information has been triangulated with the other sources. Interview quotes are not included in the organization

descriptions in order to maintain the anonymity promised to interviewees. Interview data have been aggregated in Chapter 6 to highlight the cognitive institutional structures and to deepen the analysis.

Organizational Actors within the Institutional Field

In order to analyze the ways in which education plays a role in preventing child slavery and in the rehabilitation of former child slaves, details about the organizations that make up the institutional field are presented. The institutional field is made up of a range of organizational actors working at various levels to effect change.

Multilateral Organizations

Multilateral organizations have states as members and work mainly on issues of development. Under this umbrella are organizations that range from multilateral development banks (such as the World Bank) to United Nations agencies (such as UNICEF). There is a vast and certainly contested range of activities carried out by actors at this level, some that arguably result in the de-development of many groups of people throughout the world. It is therefore not the intent here to corral the work of all multilateral organizations into one description and while it is tempting to dismiss all efforts by multilateral agencies as solidly under the influence of the Bretton Woods Institutions [3] and therefore hegemonic, in the case of contemporary child slavery, United Nations organizations have shown significant support and leadership in research and advocacy regarding increases in slavery (ILO, 2002a;2002b; 2002c; ILO & IPEC 2002;

[3] [3] The Bretton Woods institutions were established at the end of WWII to address post war reconstruction. Originally just the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization was added in the 1990s. Currently the group of organizations has grown to five, all under the direction of the World Bank. Of significance is the fact that the World Bank's director is appointed by the USA government. See www.brettonwoodsproject.org

2000; UN 2000; UN DESA 2003; UNICEF 2003). In this study the ILO and IPEC were identified by participants as being actors that influenced their work most significantly.

Data from ILO and IPEC

> The International Labour Organization is the UN specialized agency which seeks the promotion of social justice and internationally recognized human and labour rights. It was founded in 1919 and is the only surviving major creation of the Treaty of Versailles which brought the League of Nations into being and it became the first specialized agency of the UN in 1946. (Retrieved June 1, 2005. from http://www.ilo.org/public/english/about/index.htm)

The ILO's tripartite structure of equal participation of governments, workers and employers distinguishes it from organizations within the UN system that have only member states as decision makers. The tripartite partnership is encouraged throughout the policy and programs of the ILO and IPEC.

The ILO implements its technical cooperation program through the International Progamme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC). This organization operated mainly in Asia between 1993 and 1995, but as awareness of the global nature of child slavery became more apparent, IPEC programs now operate globally. (ILO & IPEC, 2002a). These agencies have been leaders in the diffusion of the term "worst forms of child labour" as a description of child slavery. The ILO concern with child labour dates back to its very first session in 1919 where the Minimum Age Convention, 1919, (No. 5) was adopted. The focus on the abolition of child labour was written into the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work "reflecting the growing

consensus across the world that child labour represents a serious threat to sustainable economic and social development everywhere" (ILO, 2002b), p. ix). In 1999 there was a unanimous adoption of the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999, (No. 182) and an unprecedented rate of ratification by most states in the world. The worst forms of child labour were defined as "all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict(2002a, p. 11). Ratification of ILO Convention 182 implies states are committed to "combat the worst forms of child labour, accompanied by measures to eliminate and prevent all child labour in the longer term (p. x). ILO and IPEC promote the "prohibition of child labour [through a] wide range of economic and non-economic activities; policy responses must be designed accordingly" (2002a, p. 9-10). Current ILO policy statements regarding slavery/child labour indicate the need to focus on children and a new lens on vulnerable children became an international norm (p. 11).

Understandings of provision, protection and participation in relation to children and slavery

Provision

The ILO and IPEC make links between poverty and the worst forms of child labour but clearly make a distinction between the role of the family and the role of the state in provision to those who are vulnerable:

> While poverty of the family may keep many children out of school, poverty of the State can never be accepted as a reason to deny children's right to education. (2002a, p. 53, Item #183)

Education is seen as part of the state's responsibility to provide to children. Policy documents make the link between the importance of education and the elimination of poverty:

> Just as child labour is inextricably linked to poverty, so is its effective abolition linked to education. While accessible, good quality educational opportunities can help keep children out of unacceptable forms of work, the absence of public education systems, quality schools and training programs serves to perpetuate child labour. Child labour in turn, prevents children attending and benefiting from school. (2002a, p. 53)

Protection

ILO and IPEC documents draw on the International Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) to frame the State's responsibility to protect children.

> For the ILO, the term [social protection] covers not only social security but also non-statutory schemes. It extends to income security, health and safety at work and the environment, conditions of work and family issues, pensions and retirement. In its broadest sense it means the public actions taken in response to levels of vulnerability, risk and deprivation which can be deemed socially unacceptable within a given polity or society. *(2002a, p.52)*

All states that have ratified ILO Convention NO. 182 are bound by these policies. Therefore, the ILO and IPEC policy position is linked to local governments through their commitments as signatories. Providing protection is one area that all states fail in relation to contemporary child slavery. The ILO however has no jurisdiction to enforce the conventions and calls on states to create the enforcement mechanisms to support

initiatives to protect children such as clear definitions of responsibilities, the provision of critical information, education about the laws and legal literacy.

Participation

The ILO recognizes that perceptions of children have evolved over time and it is important to view children "less as passive objects of adult concern and more as human beings with rights of their own"(2002a, p. 55). While the participation of children is encouraged throughout the work of IPEC, neither they nor the ILO separate children's participation from the other universal Rights of the Children that ensure provision and protection.

An awareness of the unequal consequences of exclusion for girls is evident throughout ILO and IPEC documents. However, it is not clear how much of a priority is placed on creating a change in this situation. In some ways, documents that name the marginalization of girls as a cultural tradition can serve to perpetuate this exclusion rather than providing a framework for change (2002a). Bilateral agreements between source and destination countries of 'sex tourists' can allow for exchange of information, harmonization of laws and judicial procedures, police cooperation and the ensured safety and welfare of child witnesses (p. 63).

Understandings of working together with other actors

ILO policy documents recognize the tension that exists between labour and education policy. They have identified differences in the age of compulsory schooling and the minimum working age as policy problems in many states. Policy coherence is difficult because children's issues are dealt with in a variety of government agencies that are rarely consistent even at a local level. Therefore, often campaigns for the abolition of

child labour are not necessarily linked to calls for universal education (2002a, p. 57, #192).In addition, there is recognition that there needs to be consideration of how children move from family to school to community and that a more integrated approach can provide an increased protective capacity. The ILO and IPEC promote the idea that only through international and local connections can the abuse of children through slavery be interrupted. For example, child trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation has been an area where several ILO and IPEC initiatives have crossed geographical and political boundaries to establish a task force for child protection as well as Child Prostitution and Tourism Watch organizations (2002a).

Understandings of appropriate policy and program directions

The ILO and IPEC policy indicates an awareness of the relationship between various actors and sectors when addressing the worst forms of child labour. These policies conclude that a reduction in child labour is possible with a combination of economic growth, support for labour standards, universal social protection and education as well as a human rights perspective (2002a). In this approach ILO and IPEC suggest that agencies work together to capitalize on each other's strengths and make investment in children a priority. This means that states should establish a system of coherent national policies to ensure various policy actors hold violators accountable (2002a, p. 81). The ILO will provide advice and assistance to governments as they strive to improve these regulatory frameworks. For example, the ILO suggests improved birth registration as a "ticket to citizenship" (2002a, p. 83), as well as national actions to provide quality education for all children and youth as two ways of preventing child slavery. Again, the

ILO stresses that these initiatives should involve tripartite cooperation among employers, workers' groups and government.

> The ILO social partners are uniquely placed to convey people's concerns at and about work to their governments. Active participation by the social partners in policy development and practical action against child labour has proved to be crucial at the regional, national and international levels. An important part of IPEC's action programmes call for the participation of employers' and workers' organizations in their implementation. (2002a, p. 85)

Link to education sector

With the policy statements strongly supporting interagency efforts and a need to support universal education, it is interesting to explore if the ILO and IPEC engage with educators. In 2000, the ILO held a regional workshop in Benin, West Africa (ILO & IPEC, 2000). This workshop addressed policy and procedures affecting children who were victims of human trafficking and slavery, with the meeting participants arriving at several recommendations regarding future actions. Participants included state officials from West African countries including representatives from women's affairs, youth development, justice, police services as well as several representatives from local, regional and international non-governmental organizations. Representatives from the formal school sector were not listed as participants. In the published records of this event, there are two references to education and schools: 1) universal basic education "should be brought to focus on the people, involving NGOs in the implementation" (ILO, 2000, Appendix II, Objective 2: Output 2.1) and 2) "Child Rights Clubs should be established in schools and as part of the school curriculum" (ILO, 2000, Appendix II,

Objective 2: Output 2.1). In its summary, the document suggests the government should provide funding for free basic education (also a condition of ILO Convention #182 ratification).

In another ILO & IPEC led regional workshop in Asia, efforts were made to address and record how to "create a healing environment" for children who have experienced slavery (ILO & IPEC, 2002). Final conclusions from the workshop suggested that there was a need for collaborative efforts between organizations, communities and regions to establish "quality of care standards" (p. 70), perhaps through the creation of multi-disciplinary working groups. This meeting to reformulate approaches to the interventions, rehabilitation and reintegration of children included representatives from non-governmental organizations (local, regional and international), state officials from departments of health, social services, labour and justice, and international agents (e.g. International Labour Organization officials). Notably absent were representatives of education departments, schools and other education organizations. In a report on the "Progress and Future Priorities" of action against child labour, IPEC (2002) leaders identified the need for institutional partnerships to build capacity (p. 39).

These reports from recent efforts to address the reintegration needs of children describe the need for collaborative efforts across regions and disciplines. While policy statements indicate the essential nature of education, particularly the provision of free basic education for all children, there are few details of what kind of education should be provided or in what manner. The consultations that preceded the written reports did not

include education representatives. This exclusion was confirmed in interviews with staff of organizations working in education provision:

My visits to the ILO offices in India were helpful in understanding these gaps and I was told that education issues were the jurisdiction of UNESCO not ILO. It is interesting to note, as well, that as a result of a good working relationship between two people in these agencies, there is a project beginning to emerge in India that engages educators in developing a community of practice around issues of inclusion and education. Again, the importance of relationships in diffusing ideas was confirmed in this field visit. The ILO is situated centrally in the field where it works as a norm advocate to influence state labour policies. As an interpreter of these norms, the ILO translates changing normative expectation regarding child labour to states by building relationships with its tripartite members (labour, business and government).

International Coalitions and Campaigns

Several participants in this study identified two global initiatives, The Global March Against Child Labour (GM) and the Global Campaign for Education (GCE), that have impacted their understanding and their work in addressing child slavery. The Global March Against Child Labour originated in India and the Global Campaign for Education in South Africa. Interestingly, while organization staff tended to be quite polarized regarding these organizations, with some organizations that opposed an abolitionist approach to child labour speaking quite strongly in opposition to the GM, clearly both the GM and GCE had been effective in getting their message regarding exploitive child labour and universal education diffused throughout the world.

Global March Against Child Labour

The GM rose quickly into international view and was instrumental in getting exploitive child labour onto the international agenda with claims to direct impact on the formation of the ILO Convention No. 182. The mission of the organization is:

> To mobilise worldwide efforts to protect and promote the rights of all children, especially the right to receive a free, meaningful education and to be free from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be harmful to the child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development. (Retrieved January 20, 2005 at http://www.globalmarch.org/aboutus/index.php)

Understandings of provision, protection and participation in relation to children and slavery

The GM takes a clear and strong abolitionist approach and also bases their demands for an end to child labour as a human right. The organization also raises awareness about forms of child exploitation that are less visible. For example, particular attention is paid to the exploitation of girls and family, domestic, agricultural labour and child trafficking that tend to have a lower profile than exploitation in the manufacturing industry.

The GM challenges states to create a regulatory system that can effectively deal with those who abuse children through labour exploitation. GM draws on the international treaties and conventions to frame the organization's work.

The GM takes a very child centered position in its work and has children involved in all activities and children are very visible in activities to lobby governments. Their marches, that have been the foundation of their campaigning strategies, include millions of children. My visits with the staff and children who are connected to the GM

were interesting and the staff often drew on the example of Gandhi in their discussion of their style of work. Organizational documents and program directions, make links between the structural causes of child exploitation through labour and local realities and exclusions:

> The Global March mobilises public opinion and action against the social, cultural and economic injustices within societies that contribute to child labour, such as discrimination against women and minorities, the unfair distribution of land and resources, illegal labour practices, and massive unemployment; and also against injustices between nations, such as the indebtedness of the South, inappropriate Structural Adjustment Programs, and unfair terms of globalisation. (Retrieved January 20, 2005 at http://www.globalmarch.org/aboutus/index.php)

> A key pillar in GM policy is linking child labour, illiteracy and poverty in what they describe as a "triangular paradigm" and they lobby for consistency in policy and programs at the national and international level. They have recently led in the formation of a working group of ILO, UNESCO, and World Bank staff to promote these links (Retrieved January 20, 2005 at http://www.globalmarch.org/aboutus/index.php)..

One of the actions promoted by GM is that employers should replace child labourers with adults and pay them a fair wage under fair working conditions. They also suggest the transition from child to adult labour requires support for the safety, security and wellbeing of those children who are moved out of labour and presumably, into education settings. While many organizations challenge this position, saying that it will

leave children more vulnerable, GM is strong in its conviction that with an organized effort by employers, governments, consumers and civil society, it is possible to regulate child labour.

Link to education sector

The organizational links to education are strong. Of particular significance is the fact that one of the key founders and the current chair of GM, Kailash Satyarthi, is also the new President of the Global Campaign for Education. It is not clear yet how this overlap will affect the work of either organization, but as an institutional actor, Satyarthi is certainly placed to have a significant impact on what ideas are diffused. At a recent UNESCO meeting with more than 50 national education ministers Satyarthi was the only civil society representative to address the UNESCO General Conference Ministerial Round Table on Education for All (personal communication, 2006). In addition, GM was one of the three civil society representatives in the High Level Group review meeting of the Dakar Framework of Action on EFA. The Global March successfully lobbied for policy changes to include elimination of child labour as a key factor for achieving EFA. This was the first time elimination of child labour was included in the policy document(personal communication, 2006).

With a profile this high on the international stage, GM is bound to attract the attention of a wider variety of organizations interested in being connected and with this, of course, a shift in the norms of the institutional field. In this study, participants held quite polarized views on GM. Some challenged the abolitionist approach to the extent that they made clear statements about not wanting to participate with GM or be associated with them, others held GM in very high regard as the "grandfather" of the

movement to universally end exploitive child labour. The GM is located at the interstices of three junctures: labour and education; local and global; and formal and non-formal education. This location provides the space for engaging in a creative process of challenging existing norms as well as working for change through coalition building. As an international coalition working on a particular campaign, the GM continues to exist because it has a strong network of support, including national and regional coordinators. There seem to be some shifts in membership and involvement as different aspects of the child labour issue become the focal point of the GM campaign. For example, some organizations in "northern" countries have been supportive but less actively involved after the successful ratification of ILO No. 182 (Personal communication, 2005).

Global Campaign for Education

The Global Campaign for Education (GCE) is a relatively new coalition that works to further the goal of providing education of high quality to all children. While not all participants mentioned GCE as an influence on their work, those that did saw it as a very important part of the policy change process. On my second visit to India, I spent several days with the Indian national coordinator of the GCE (See Chapter 6 for more details of the Indian GCE). That organization viewed child labour and education for all as intricately connected. I have also gained knowledge of the GCE as a participant in the Canadian GCE activities.

Link to education sector

> As a global alliance working in over 100 countries, GCE represents a dynamic coalition of NGOs, teachers' unions, trade unions, activists and other civil society organizations lobbying and advocating for the Education for All (EFA) goals.

(Retrieved on February, 12, 2006 at

http://www.campaignforeducationcanada.org/about/about.php)

The GCE began in October 1999 when four international civil-society organizations, ActionAid, Education International, Oxfam International, and the Global March Against Child Labour, joined together to promote quality education for all as an achievable goal and one that stands to impact poverty levels and the quality of life for many of the world's most disadvantaged people. The GCE has its permanent secretariat office in South Africa. Membership is open to any independent civil society organization, so current participating organizations include teachers' unions, international, national and local NGOs from all parts of the world, as well as universities and other education providers.

Understandings of working together with other actors

As a coalition, the GCE depends on its members to carry out the work of the organization. Therefore, much of the central effort of the GCE is focused at getting information to members and coordinating an international awareness and lobbying campaign. This campaign builds on a common theme with common demands of governments. A key part of the campaign is to engage children in all countries to lobby on behalf of those children who are excluded from education. Therefore, much of the GCE is a global education or public engagement focus. Member organizations are expected to add their strengths to the wider campaign to build its impact. For example, the theme of the GCE in 2005 was around the issue of access to education with the theme statement "send my friend to school" and an estimated 5 million children were engaged

in lobbying politicians nationally and internationally to make policy changes (Retrieved May, 2006 at www.campaignforeducation.org).

Understandings of appropriate policy and program directions

The GCE promotes several key normative positions including universal human rights and state provided education as a key factor in sustainable human development. They advocate for strong public education that is community based, free for all children, and of high quality as understood by local community members. They suggest that the international community has a responsibility to provide assistance for this education until such time as governments have the resources to do so independently.

Understandings of provision, protection and participation in relation to children and slavery

While the GCE itself does not take on child labour, the demands for universal access to high quality education does imply that the priority for all children should be education rather than work. Two policy documents are available on their website that examine the issues of child labour. These documents are authored by the Global March Against Child Labour (2002) and the ILO (2001). The focus currently is providing education in localities where there has been a complete or almost complete collapse or neglect of the formal education system and few children are receiving education. This is viewed by GCE as one of the push factors for child labour. The GCE does not specifically target the worst forms of child labour as separate from other forms of exclusion.

The GCE presents the position that education will "level the playing field" for those children who are living in poverty. However, with the GCE addressing structural

change in the political and economic areas that affect funding for education and effective education policies, the focus is more broad than with some organizations that choose to focus on children's participation rather than focus on the redistribution required to fully provide for and protect children While the whole focus on the GCE is arguably on participation by focusing on children's participation in education, the intent of the CRC is usually understood to mean that children are engaged in the decisions that affect them. Children's participation is a significant part of the annual GCE campaign action. However, it is not clear if or how children are involved in more significant ways in this organization. For example, there is no indication that children are given positions in the governance structure, decision making processes, or that they are consulted regarding the activities of the organization as, for example, has been the case in the Global March Against Child Labour.

The location of the GCE in the interstices of both the local and global interactions and the formal and nonformal education sectors creates a rich space where ideas can be creatively combined in new ways. It is significant that this coalition is located in South Africa, with key personnel and processes reflecting perspectives and experiences from "the south". This expands the possibility that the idea of universal education becomes surrounded by the values and realities of those who have been marginalized, for example, through colonization and economic globalization, rather than from those who have been instrumental in those processes, for example, the World Bank.

Donors

All participants discussed the importance of donors in their work. On the one hand, without financial support from donors, organizations would be unable to fund their

work but on the other hand, those funds always come with conditions attached that require shifts in how organizations work. Donors have a significant impact on what practices are legitimated and diffused throughout the institutional field. This section provides data about three different donors. First, the Canadian government agency in charge of development assistance is the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and it functions like most of the Development Assistance Countries (DAC) where funds are designated as Foreign Aid and are channeled through this state department for distribution. A second donor is the Commonwealth Education Fund, an agency established by 53 members of the commonwealth Association that consists of three intergovernmental organizations: the Commonwealth Secretariat, the Commonwealth Foundation and the Commonwealth of Learning (Retrieved April 15, 2006 at http://www.thecommonwealth.org). The third example of a donor impacting work in the area of child slavery is a large international NGO. While the organization may not identify itself as a "donor" per se, local organizations that receive funds and are influenced by the policies and funding conditions of this organization (and others of similar size and mandate) describe it as a donor. On this basis, I have included Save the Children Alliance as a donor organization.

CIDA

The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) is mandated to support sustainable development in a number of "developing" countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. As a political agency, CIDA has been shaped by changing government positions on the role of international cooperation and humanitarian aid. The current trend is to approach Canada's overseas development assistance as part of a coordinated

approach with the departments of defense and foreign affairs. (See www.acdi-cida.gc.ca) CIDA policy suggests an interest in working with local communities to build capacity, to strive for improved donor coordination, and consistency with other policies such as trade. (Ibid)

CIDA lists its partners as 30 core countries; partner organizations; governments; non-governmental organizations; institutions; community groups; businesses; international bodies such as the World Bank and UNICEF. (Retrieved November 20, 2005 at www.http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca) How these multiple partnerships function is difficult to understand. As Ian Smillie (2004) reports, CIDA and its relationship have been in disarray for more than a decade, particularly, partnerships with NGOs and other civil society organizations. Much of the work with children and slavery is done by NGOs and this disarray is noticeable. CIDA's relationship to these organizations has been shifting over the last decade:

> In many OECD member countries there has been a decided cooling towards NGOs in recent years. Although they deliver an estimated 60% of all emergency assistance (direct fundraising, grants from bilaterals, plus significant proportions of WFP, UNHCR and UNICEF funding) and are major recipients of bilateral grants and contracts, donor agencies often treat them with suspicion and disdain. (Smillie, 2004, p. 18).

Existing CIDA partnerships include financial agreements, provision of technical support, dialogue on issues such as human rights, and sharing of information and knowledge. In the area of child protection and child labour, Save the Children Canada and UNICEF are particularly influential in CIDA's policy and programming work.

As a federal government agency, CIDA enacts Canada's commitments to international agreements, conventions and expectations. *CIDA's Action Plan on Child Protection (CIDA, 2001),* indicates Canada's policy position. Canadian policy makers draw on five key international agreements to inform their policy including the Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989; the Plan of Action for Implementing the World Declaration on the Survival, Protection and Development of Children in the 1990's,1990; the Bejing World Conference on Women: Platform for Action, 1995; and the ILO Convention Concerning the Prohibition and Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour, 1999. (Retrieved June 30, 2005 at http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/CIDAWEB/acdicida.nsf/En/8525711600526F0A852571190061990F?OpenDocument). This also provides a framework in which others can hold Canada to account on their policy and actions, which is significant in light of some tensions in the holistic effectives of these agreements on policy.

CIDA's policies make a distinction between harmful child labour and non-harmful child labour. It also states it does not agree with the ILO position on child labour:

> Canada's position on how the elimination of child labour can be achieved, without worsening the situation of children, is not the same as the ILO position. (Personal communication, internal document, 2005).

CIDA policy uses a logic of necessity to support children working:

> As long as children have to work, CIDA will work with them to improve their chances for a safer and happier future. At the same time, CIDA continues to reduce poverty and the conditions that force children to work. Rather than trying to stop all child labour, it is important to ensure that children who work gain the knowledge,

tools, and opportunities they need to achieve their full potential. (Personal communication, internal document, 2005).

CIDA does take a firm position against child trafficking although there is some concern that there is not a harmonized approach between the national and international approaches. (Personal communication, internal document, 2005).

> CIDA supports the prevention of trafficking of persons by addressing many of the factors that contribute to the vulnerability of persons to become trafficked or involved in commercial sexual exploitation. (Personal communication, internal document, 2005).

CIDA policy claims that research shows that blanket bans on child labour and international campaigns to boycott certain products have resulted in many children ending up in more dangerous work situations (Personal communication, internal document, 2005). As with most other organizations that make this claim, the source of the research is not provided.

As well, CIDA supports five youth pilot projects in Egypt, Kosovo, Columbia and Sri Lanka, in order to develop examples of how the participation of young people might be more meaningful and used to create a more protective environment for children (CIDA, 2005). These projects, and most of the projects CIDA funds in this area focus on non-formal education and the absence of engagement with the formal education sector is notable. There are indications that work with non-formal education is shifting to a rights based approach.

This approach is also given a gender perspective that supports particular attention to the experience of girls:

> Policies and programs that address child labour need to take into account the different experiences and issues facing girls and boys who work. For example, non-formal education programs for working children are often held at night, when girls cannot attend because it is unsafe for them to go outside. Programs that encourage children to participate in decision-making about their work need to ensure that both girls and boys are given the chance to participate. (CIDA, 2005)

It is, again, significant that the education sector is not engaged in any real way in this shifting to a human rights focus. This policy document stresses the participation aspect of the CRC as a key factor in child protection.

As a national government agency, CIDA's role in the normative process is to enact the norms that have been legitimated through public policy. The role of donor suggests a strong role in the enactment process where particular organizations and countries are provided funds for work that fits within the Canadian government policy. This donor relationship acts as a conduit for the norms and regulatory practices that are legitimated in the Canadian context.

Commonwealth Education Fund (CEF)

The CEF was set up in 2001 through the Commonwealth Secretariat with an initial grant from the UK government of £10 million. The aim of CEF is to work with civil society to "raise the profile of international education goals at a national level in low income Commonwealth countries" (CEF, 2005, p. 1). From the outset, this fund was earmarked to be used to create change.

> It would be an unconventional fund, not designed to support service delivery in education; not for building schools or running a few local projects.

> Rather the funds would be used strategically to build domestic support for education; to pull together disparate voices across society in order to encourage governments to place education higher up their agenda. In most countries the education and gender MDGs had little visibility and so governments did not feel accountable to deliver on them. The CEF would create change by increasing public debate around education goals, promoting greater transparency and focusing on the needs of children currently outside the education system. (CEF, 2005, p. 1)

CEF is intent on creating policy change within the countries that it works. Partnerships are expanding beyond Commonwealth countries to include francophone Africa, Latin America and South East Asia as organizations show interest in establishing similar education funds. The organization reports significant interest in their model of working (CEF, 2005, p. 48). This sense of having established a unique and extremely effective model of funding policy change is evident throughout this organization's documents. Given that top-down models of development assistance and of policy change have resulted in less than favorable results at local levels, it is interesting to understand where this confidence comes from. (See Shiva, 2005; Kothari, 2005; Rahnema & Bawtree, 1997; Chambers, 1994). Certainly, the administration structure of the organization reveals part of this background. CEF describes its system as decentralized (CEF, 2005, p. 48). However, the fund functions with an oversight committee that would indicate a particular path dependency of operational choices. An oversight committee can be understood to be a group that functions independently of daily governance with the task to review and control program and financial affairs of an organization. Therefore, while

CEF may have consultation at the local level as a policy position, final decisions will be vetted by the oversight committee located in the UK. This committee, as of 2005, was made up of a group of people *very* highly placed in the international financial world, including senior management personnel from the Bank of England; Zurich Financial Services; HSBC; British Petroleum; CDC Capital Partners; Commonwealth Secretariat; Standard Chartered Bank; Asian Business Association; and H.M. Queen Elizabeth II. In addition, the CEF Management Committee responsible for the day-to-day management of the Fund is composed of members of three leading UK development agencies: ActionAid, Oxfam and Save the Children. With these committees consisting of members of the most powerful private and non-profit organizations in the world, it raises questions as to how this organization functions within states where local policy processes are politically fragile and already burdened by their colonial and neocolonial histories. One policy document acknowledges the issue of an imbalance of power, although there is no indication that structural changes or reorganization might take place to create a more balanced power dynamic. CEF concludes that its power can be used in a positive manner in the countries where it works (p. 16). This power is seen by CEF to be tied to its form of strategic funding for civil society work in education and is acknowledged to be a source of tension with relations with partners.

> This power should be used, for example, to deepen the democratic processes of coalitions (and their links to the grassroots), but should not be used to interfere in setting the coalitions agenda or interfering with management of the coalition. The capacity to support core costs of coalitions is widely appreciated but must be handled carefully. Coalitions must be supported to find other funding sources – to

> diversify their base so the there is no longer-term dependency on CEF. This will take time and coalitions must be prepared to deal with other donors who may be less interested in their process and more interested in pushing particular agendas. (CEF, 2005, p. 16)

The focus on education change, according to CEF, is based on the understanding that promoting primary education is key in economic and social inclusion. CEF joins other organizations in the perspective that education is the key to a "level playing field" and provides opportunity through inclusion for disadvantaged people. There is no evidence of CEF engaging children or youth in their organization except as education program recipients.

Understandings of working together with other actors

CEF suggests their way of working is a unique model.

> What CEF brings to the table is a radical new way of working, where international NGOs come together with national NGOs, teacher unions, parent associations, faith-based groups, prominent individuals, the women's movement and the private sector. These broad based alliances play a pivotal role in ensuring that governments fully assume their responsibility to provide quality public education for all girls and boys. (CEF, 2005, p. 5)

While cooperative initiatives at a local level are not considered new or particularly radical, what this initiative brings is a new model of linking together the world's three largest INGOs in a cooperative project. Historically, these agencies have tended to compete for government funding. UK's Department for Foreign Affairs and International

Development (DFID) has for several years indicated they expected more cooperative work within the development NGO sector. In an environment that is extremely competitive, NGOs have shown little interest in taking such a risk (Shultz, 2000). This well funded CEF project removed the financial risk making it easier for these organizations to be involved. However, it does leave questions as to how other smaller INGOs, and local NGOs might have benefited from the same level of support and what the consequences of being excluded have been for them.

Another of the "new ways of working" is to include the private sector and encourage this participation to be more than just as a funder. It is not clear if this role is perceived as different than other public-private partnerships that strive to engage the private sector to strengthen a weakened public sector (cf. Taylor, Shultz & Leard, 2005). The evaluation of the project seems to indicate, as with other such partnerships, that the private sector is less than eager to engage in this work. (CEF, 2005, p. 48)

Throughout CEF documents there is discussion about the importance of coalitions and program work is meant to spread out from the central decision making committees through a network of agencies linked through the three INGOs: Actionaid, Oxfam and Save the Children. This horizontal model is encouraged at the local level with conditions of high levels of stakeholder participation as part of the funding mechanisms (2005. p. 14). Most education coalitions supported by CEF remain dominated by NGOs even as other agencies are increasingly involved. There is some recognition of a need for an active move to diversify and deepen membership in most cases (p.15). The experience of CEF indicates that collaborative work is difficult and the barriers are not necessarily fully understood.

Understandings of appropriate policy and program directions

The CEF project clearly states its aim to have NGOs actively involved in the policy process. The connection to contemporary child slavery is not outlined specifically, but access to education is named as a priority (p.1). CEF supports working with particularly marginalized groups of children including girls; street children; disabled children; children in remote communities; indigenous groups; HIV orphans; Linguistic minorities; pastoralists; conflict affected/ displaced children; low caste/dalit children; migrant workers which are all groups identified as being particularly vulnerable to becoming involved in the slave trade (p. iv).

CEF promotes and expects gender equity to be part of the initiatives they support. However, this is clearly a norm from "outside" and has not been incorporated into the projects at the local level:

> Gender is yet to be a central theme of all coalitions and is sometimes misinterpreted. Many of the CEF coordinators have tried to raise gender issues with coalitions or other partners but this generally results in peripheral actions or partners reporting 'gender focused" activities merely because they involved or were related to girls. More attention and resources need to be focused on building understanding and capacity so that coalitions and partners operate with the rights and needs of both girls and boys at the heart of all their activities. In some cases this needs to start with greater gender awareness amongst CEF coordinators themselves. (CEF, 2005, p. 15).

Gender equity remains an issue and CEF's evaluation suggests, while it may be a global norm, it has not been picked up at other levels.

CEF operates within the institutional field as an organization crossing the boundaries of the private, non-profit and public sectors. The organization's influence on the institutional norm processes appears to be as norm practitioner, bringing particular expertise and perspective to the field of education provision. This perspective has the private sector and particularly the global financial sector perspective through its governance structure. The three largest INGOs in the world also provide a particular perspective on development and local - global relations. The role of donor provides the mechanism for enacting the institutional norms as particular activities are selected and funded.

Save the Children Alliance / Save the Children Canada

Save the Children (STC) is one of the world's largest non-governmental organizations with 27 national organizations working in 110 countries. The secretariat for STC is in the UK and national organizations function quite independently within the mandate of the overall goals of the organization. One of the earliest and strongest proponents of children's rights, STC works solely to improve the lives of children by working with local groups and with other international agencies to achieve its goals. (Retrieved April 15, 2006 at http://www.savethechildren.net/alliance/about_us/mission_vision/index.html). Much of the policy, advocacy and funding work of STC is carried out in the head offices located in "northern" countries. They support their work by accessing foreign aid money and then moving it to community based organizations in "receiving" countries and, therefore, SCT is viewed as a donor agency. Funds for particular program work is available to organizations interested in partnering with STC to achieve the INGO's goals.

With this role also comes a recognized "expert status" within policy circles. STC Alliance as well as SCT Canada were both identified by participants in this research, including government policy leaders, as strongly influential in deciding policy and programming approaches.

STC policy states their position on the role of education in the lives of children and links this work to the global Millenium Development Goals and its universal primary education goals. STC has also strong policies regarding working children and these policies are often in tension with the stated goals of universal education. For example, on the one hand, STC states:

> Governments need to develop strategies to help education become an effective means of preventing harmful child work and to ensure that the rights of working boys and girls to an education are fulfilled. (STC, 2005, p. 5)

However, on the other hand, in the area of children and exploitive work, policy statements indicate a shift toward normalizing work for children: "Children should be enabled to exercise their rights, and the opportunities available to them should be expanded so that work is a choice, not a necessity" (STC 2005, p.10).

> [We] recognize the educational value of children's working lives and aim to validate this learning within the education system. This could include developing curricula to address attitudes and norms which reinforce and legitimize the exploitation of children. . (STC 2005, p. 12)

With the organization's strong focus on the participation of children, much of the policy work is focused on the importance of "the freedom to choose" for the individual child.

Also, STC supports working children's organizations although they recognize this is a contested position:

> Working children's organizations help to achieve children's rights to participate and associate, and can help children to achieve their right to be free from harmful work. They can serve a variety of functions including whistle blowing, monitoring work places, providing mutual support and protection, and advocating for policy changes.. (STC 2005, p. 14)

In addressing children and work, policy statements again are not necessarily consistent and suggest a shift toward normalizing child work as an individual choice.

STC exists at the centre of international development work. As one of the largest INGOs, STC has access to policy makers, practitioners and researchers from local to multilateral levels. The organization focuses mainly on work with the non-formal education sector although there is some indication that they work to bridge with formal educators in some areas. While in many ways they are entrepreneurial when it comes to putting children as the focus of their work, STC also plays a role in enacting institutional norms through their role as donor and as practitioners with expertise in children's issues.

International Advocacy Organizations

The work of organizations that lobby decisionmakers to make policy changes is not a new area of NGO work, but one that has been revived within our neoliberal times. With governments promoting a very small public sector and a more powerful role for the private sector, civil society organizations have taken up advocacy as part of their work in an attempt to make governments more accountable to citizens and to increase the level of

democracy in policy processes. Chapman & Wameyo distinguish between "participatory advocacy" and "people centered advocacy":

> Participatory advocacy describes work that helps draw other civil society groups into the debate and create the space in which people can hold decision-makers accountable. It is concerned with supporting and strengthening networks, movements, and civil society groups and helping create the space in which southern voices can be expressed and heard. People centered advocacy is work that involves people negotiating better, on their own behalf, for their basic rights. People centered advocacy is often, but not always, associated with local level work in which people are supported to analyse their own situations, identify their rights, make their views heard and hold decision-makers accountable (2001, p. 5-6).

In this study, two organizations that have advocacy as their main mandate are Anti-Slavery International (ASI) and Free the Slaves, an American based sister organization to ASI, were identified as influencing the work on child slavery.

Anti-Slavery International

Anti-slavery International is a well established organization with a long history of antislavery work and is considered to be the world's oldest international human rights organizations, working for the abolition of slavery since 1787. (Retrieved June 10, 2005 at http://www.antislavery.org/homepage/antislavery/about.htm) ASI works at local, national and international levels to lobby governments to make the abolition of slavery a priority; to raise public awareness of slavery; and to provide current research.. ASI has been successful in its campaigns in many areas of the world.

A current advocacy campaign, the "1807-2007 Campaign", highlights ASI's understanding of slavery as an ongoing issue:

> The legacies of the Transatlantic Slave Trade reverberate today in terms of racism and discrimination, as well as the long term impact it has had in both the development and underdevelopment of communities and countries affected by the trade. There is much to be learned from this period of our history, which can benefit society today, not least of which is how we can effectively combat contemporary forms of slavery. (Retrieved June 10, 2005 at http://www.antislavery.org/homepage/antislavery/about.htm)

ASI credits their success to the creating a social movement including a wide range of social actors. Recently, ASI has been able to bring contemporary slavery to international attention and they work with partner organizations located in regions where people are identified as being enslaved or where people are vulnerable to being enslaved. These efforts include working to strengthen civil society networks and build good relations between NGO, grass roots groups, religious institutions, and unions. ASI does not typically work with the education sector. In fact, when I discussed this with organization staff, it seemed like a novel idea and one that hadn't really been considered and it suggested that this exclusion was probably because educators and the education system were not considered to be part of the ILO tripartite membership. Only one education program was cited in the programming work carried out (ASI 2004, p.4). However, ASI is very involved in collaborative work that brings together very diverse organizations from across the world that share a common interest in ending child slavery. For example, one project linked organizations in Costa Rica, Tamil Nadu, Kenya, Pakistan, Togo and

Ghana in strengthening civil society networks to share information and carry out advocacy activities in order to better enforce ILO Convention 182.

Tracing the impact of ASI work is difficult with its long history of antislavery work. Much of what underpins contemporary understandings of how slavery should be approached is linked to their early antislavery work. A key role of this organization is bringing a historical perspective to the work and as this study shows, with the diverse and competing ideas about how best to approach the exploitation of children, making the historical links can provide important grounding for how best to move forward. ASI is able to bridge across sectors, although this does not extend to education necessarily.

Free the Slaves

Established in 2000, Free the Slaves is a relatively new organization. Its founder, Dr. Kevin Bales, has been, arguably, the most influential actor in the world in bringing contemporary slavery to the attention of the international community. Drawing on Bales' background in community level research and the resulting strong international relationships, Free the Slaves has been very focused and very effective from the beginning. The organization documents present an impressive list of accomplishments that indicate both the sense of urgency that drives the organization but also the strength of the abolitionist approach. These efforts work to establish partnerships with grassroots organizations; provide support to freed slaves to establish sustainable livelihoods; support community networks against child trafficking; research and identify slavery in the United States and to participate in the policy processes at national and multilateral levels. (Retrieved May 15, 2006 at http://freetheslaves.net/about) ASI list Free the Slaves as a sister organization and indicate that the relationship between these

organizations is "independent but closely linked" (Retrieved June 10, 2005 at http://www.antislavery.org/homepage/antislavery/about.htm). In this study, Bales and to a lesser degree, Free the Slaves, were identified by most of the participants as being influential in their work. This influence was from Bales' research as well as personal relationships that Bales has established and participants in the study that represented community organizations felt particularly connected to his work. Clearly, Free the Slaves' approach involves working directly with individuals and small groups at the local level and success of this approach was evident. This ability to form relationships across boundaries appears to be a key component of the organization's significant impact within a short period of time. This has enabled Free the Slaves to advocate for the abolition of slavery and through this process to act as an interpreter of policy to multilateral, national and local governments and community members.

Community Based Organizations

Community based organizations are often viewed as the key actors in social justice work. Rahnema (Rahnema & Bawtree, 1997/2003) captures the importance of community based work in the description of community as deliberately different from society in that it implies membership in a human-scale collective that makes face-to-face contact both necessary and possible (p. 382). In this study, three organizations are presented as actors at the grassroots level or community level which is a position that has particular importance in institutional change because it at this the level that policies from multilateral, international, and national initiatives are focused. Therefore, it is a rich place of diversity but also full of tension; it is also the place that the impact of work for change exists.

Canadian Aid to Southern Sudan (CASS)

The Canadian Aid to Southern Sudan (CASS) organization, with one small office in Canada, places its emphasis in both resources and time, in local communities in Southern Sudan where it works to provide education to former slaves. The organization began as a result of CASS President, Jane Roy's introduction to the issues of southern Sudan in 1999 when she volunteered at a food distribution centre during a period of famine in Sudan. Since that time CASS has worked to educate former child soldiers and other children who have been rescued from slavery. CASS has a controversial history working with the issue of contemporary slavery. In 2000, when the organization was just being established, they came under attack from other NGOs, for example, UNICEF (Retrieved from http://www.anglican.ca/news/news.php?newsItem=1999-09-07_a.ans) for their work with a group of Sudanese activists and western Christian funding groups, involved in slave redemption where money was paid to slaveholders for the release of slaves. While CASS and their Sudanese partners stated that this practice helped to free large numbers of slaves, other international actors responded to the practice of slave redemption as a very problematic example of outside western agencies trying to do good by doing harm. Such international agreements quite likely work against local agreements to eliminate slavery. (Retrieved January 30, 2005 at http://www.hrw.org/backgrounder/africa/sudan1.htm) The substantial weight of UNICEF's voice against the redemption project was instrumental in creating an international campaign of outrage toward the redemption programs. CASS, as a fledgling organization, was caught between the two opposing sides.

> We don't have any big solutions [to slavery]...but I have been around a bit and can recognize human suffering when I see it. All we are trying to do here is ease some of that suffering by bringing people out of bondage. I think that's worthwhile." (Retrieved January 30, 2005 at www.web.net/cass/00410-macleans.htm)

But rather than leave Sudan in the controversy, as western organizations readily do when things get rough, CASS maintained close relationships with local people they had begun to work with, and CASS evolved to be an organization that focuses on education provision to former child slaves.

As a small organization, CASS works with only five other organizations: the government of Canada; The Diocese of Rumbek, Sudan; New Sudan YMCA/YWCA; the Canadian Sudanese Volunteers for Development; Free the Slaves; and GOAL an Irish NGO. For the purpose of this study, those related to the education work of CASS will be reported. The Canadian partners include the government of Canada through CIDA as well as through the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) and the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT). These relationships include funding for building schools as well as an engagement focus with Canadian Members of Parliament and Canadian government bureaucrats.

> An important Sudanese partnership is the Diocese of Rumbek which is one of the main relief agencies in Sudan. This partnership focuses on providing universal education with a focus on access for children involved in the slave trade. Work in Sudan also connects with the recently formed Sudan YMCA/YWCA where they support athletic programs, counseling, rehabilitation of former child slaves and

child soldiers and community development. The Canadian Sudanese Volunteers for Development (CSVD) also have a close working relationship with CASS including taking a lead role the Board of Directors. (Retrieved January 30, 2005 at www.web.net/cass/00410-macleans.htm)

Butterflies

Butterflies is a community based organization located in Delhi, India. It was established in 1989 as a program to work with street and working children, who are a group of children very vulnerable to being enslaved and also includes some children who have escaped from slavery and ended up on the streets. By strengthening the protection, provision and participation of street and working children, Butterflies can be understood to provide child slavery prevention education programming. This organization works from a very strong position of the need to create opportunities for children's participation. The results of this position are really quite creative and children are provided with a range of services and opportunities that are in many ways quite unique. Butterflies incorporates a Rights of the Child approach with particular emphasis on the participation aspects of those rights.

Programs that Butterflies offers include alternative education and as an accredited part of the National Institute of Open Schooling (NIOS), an organization set up by the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India, to provide education for those outside the formal education system. Butterflies, as an accredited site, can offer credentials for the national education system. They reach street children and working

children through their 12 contact points across Delhi. A second area of education programming is vocational and life skills education which helps children develop marketable employment skills such as food production, computer education, electrical and mechanical maintenance programs. (Policy document, Annual Report 2003-04).

Butterflies provides protection to street and working children by providing a night shelter programme where children can get nutritious food and a safe place to sleep as well as recreational activities and basic health care. There is a program of sports and culture that is carried out at the 12 contact points in Delhi. Protection is also provided throughout the Child Rights Monitor Centre which is a transit shelter for children who need immediate assistance, including shelter, medical care, counseling and rest. (Policy document, Annual Report 2003 – 2004, p.12) A South Delhi child rights helpline which is part of a national emergency telephone service for children in crisis is also operated by Butterflies.

Developing cooperative programmes is also important to the Butterflies mandate. 75 children were selected by their peers to be trained as health workers in a children's health cooperative. They received training in first aid and how to respond to emergencies as well as being educated about how to access acute care at hospitals and other government services.

A very controversial program is the Bal Mazdoor Union that Butterflies has attempted to establish as a legal labour union for children. This project is not well supported by either unions or regulatory bodies in India. For example, there are rules outlining age limits for both work and participation in unions as well as in Indian legislation. The dilemma is complex, as advocates of the union suggest that unionizing

children would provide necessary protection, while those who are opposed suggest unionizing normalizes children's work at a time when efforts have been focused on ending child labour.

> The Bal Sabhas is a Children's Council that is organized at each contact point. Children took decisions on issues pertaining to their area, including changing one of the caretakers at Nizamuddin, expelling two children for consuming liquor, and in another incident, for abusing a child. At Kashmere Gate, following a discussion at a Bal Sabha on the issue of police not allowing children to go about their daily ragpicking work, the latter were contacted and the issue resolved. (Policy document, Annual Report 2003 – 2004, p. 6)

Children also run the "Children's Development Bank" which is a safe place where children learn to save and manage their money.

> Children at almost all contact points have understood the relevance of regular savings and last year alone 860 children opened their accounts with the bank. The bank is managed by the children. Regular meetings are held at each contact point for providing information about the bank and also queries related to personal accounts. (Policy document, Annual Report 2003 – 2004, p. 6)

With funding support from the UK project Comic Relief and other UK organizations, Butterflies has helped other organizations in India and South Asia (Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Nepal) to set up children's banks.

Children are also engaged in alternate media projects as a means to give these children a voice. These projects include the "Butterflies Broadcasting Children" which aired on All India Radio; Media Ethics Group where children are taught to critique and

comment on news related to children that was published in mainstream media; the National Children's Times, a wall newspaper that is written and edited by street children. It is now a bimonthly paper produced in two languages, English and Hindi. The projects of the Advocacy and Research Centre (ARC) included a presentation at the World Social Forum in Mumbai in 2004 as well as research and workshops related to issues that street children and working children face. (Policy document, Annual Report 2003 – 2004, p. 9)

Connections in the Field

Butterflies is clearly very connected to the community within which it exists and the staff describe the children as the centre of their work. However, this organization is by no means isolated from the larger national and international efforts to prevent the exploitation of children. They have mechanisms in place to elicit and receive international funds from individuals and organizations. Funders are listed as the government of India, as well as German, Dutch and United Kingdom NGOs and the United Nations. Corporate sponsors include international companies such as HSBC, Hewitt and Tata Enterprises. Several local organizations provide in kind support such as program space and office supplies. (Policy document, Annual Report 2003- 2004, p. 14-15).

In terms of programming connections, Butterflies is also "well connected". They are part of the ActionAid, Save the Children and Commonwealth Education Fund network and through this receive funding as well as international recognition and legitimacy. Butterflies also is the central organization in the "National Alliance of Grassroot NGOs for Protection of Children's Rights (NAGN)" that grew out of a gathering at the World Social Forum held in Mumbai in 2004. (Policy document,

National Alliance of Grassroot NGOs for Protection of Children's Rights, First National Consultation, Indian Social Institute, August, 2004). The network documents are clear on who will be part of the organization and stresses like-mindedness including "those who practice and promote values of democracy, secularism, communal harmony and gender equity" (p. 5). Also, members are required to have a community based presence and include community activities and advocacy at the panchayat, community and/or local government level (p. 5). The organization aims "to create collective social and political space for the grassroot NGOs" (p. 3). The group's initial members include "35 NGOs from 13 states of India including Bihar, Jharkhand, UP, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, J&K, West Bengal, Delhi, Madya Pradesh, Rajastan, Tamil Nadu and Gujarat " (p. 2).

South Asian Coalition on Child Servitude (SACCS)

Background and Link to Education

SACCs was chosen as part of this section of the policy context analysis because it is one of the first and strongest organizations working with child slaves and it offers programming that is unique in its approach to connecting abusive child labour and education. It was established in 1989 and includes a coalition of 777 NGO members covering 25 states of India, as well as Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Pakistan although the core programming is quite focused within four areas including raids and rescues, rehabilitation, village based prevention projects (Dutta, 2006, p. 27). The organization has made several structural transformations over time and is currently continuing the process. These changes can be understood to be a result of the organization's history and commitment to responding to very local and grassroots

realities. Although it has grown in size and complexity, SACCS continues to maintain the original grassroots connection. The organization began as a "raid and rescue" organization that worked to liberate children from slavery. Organization records indicate 64,724 children have been rescued from child servitude and enrolled in schools in various communities in India (Annual Report, 2003). The organization has from its inception linked the elimination of child labour with the provision of education to all children. Included in its membership are key Indian teachers' unions and Human Rights groups.

Link to Child Slavery

SACCs Chairperson Satyarthi presents a very strong position regarding child servitude:

> The world has never been unfit for the children of kings and queens and of those people who had control over power and wealth for ages. The world was always fit for the children in the holy teachings. Jesus says let the children come to me first. The Vedas proclaimed the children are sacred souls and Islam taught to see the glow of God in the face of a child....However, it is not fit for those millions of children of lesser gods who are sold and bought like animals, confined to the mines and brick kilns as slaves, locked in the factories and houses, stitching soccer balls, polishing gems, carving wood, knotting carpets, working alongside the glass furnaces, trafficked for domestic labor, forced into beggary where sometimes their tiny organs are mutilated to gain more sympathy; or for those who are victims of armed conflicts, ethnic violence and even the victims of development related displacement. It is also not fit for the young girls trapped in the flesh trade, or for

the kids who are tied down on the backs of camels in the gulf countries where the screaming of a child makes the camel run faster and his master is happy. (Excerpt from a speech by Mr. Kailash Satyarthi Chairperson of the Global March Against Child Labour At UN Special Session on Children, New York 10 May 2002)

The strength of this description is evident throughout the policies, organizational programs and documents. From their website to their local meetings, the message of complete abolition of child servitude is uniform and unbending.

Connections in the Field

SACCS has a focus that has both strong roots in local communities and the reality of those within communities who are most marginalized and vulnerable. Over time the organization has shifted as staff members took on more and wider roles in international campaigns such as the Global March and the Global Campaign for Education as well as the national level Campaign for Education for All in India. This organization is an example of an organization that is working its way through the tensions created by holding local community action at the centre of its work while working for international structural change through global advocacy networks and coalitions. This tension between local agency and global structure has defined most of SACC's connections within the institutional field of education and child slaves. More than 700 local organizations are linked to the work of SACCs. Work beyond organization programming that includes partners includes efforts to engage in policy change by organizing national and international consultation, as well as organizing massive campaigns against child labour and in support of equitable access to education. The organization chairperson is the executive director of the international organization, the Global Campaign for Education.

Another director is the national Convener of the Indian National Coalition for Education. Funders include international organizations such as Oxfam Novib, a Dutch INGO, Plan India, a national branch of an INGO, the International branch of the Rotary Club as well as numerous national and local Indian organizations.

Conclusions

This exploration of the policy context for education provision to children who have been enslaved or those vulnerable to being enslaved, highlights the actors that create or limit the possibilities that education is used as a tool for social change leading to the emancipation of these marginalized children. The institutional field is created by international and local actors playing different roles in relation to other actors. Patterns of behaviour that are evident indicate the importance of international –local relationships in norm change. Also, the relationship, or lack of relationship, between the formal and nonformal sectors is significant particularly in light of the need for institutional change. The intersubjectivity of norms is key in their diffusion. The exclusion of the formal education sector indicates changes to how child slaves and marginalized children are provided education may have little chance to improve.

The data from the organizations in the institutional field is summarized in the following chart that indicates the roles and influences of the actors in the field.

Table 1: *Summary of Actors and their Patterns of Behaviour in the Institutional Field*

Actor	Location in the Field (in relation to education/child slaves/ vulnerable children)	Role in Institutional change (entrepreneur/ interpreter/ enactor)	Influence on the Institutional Norm process (norm advocacy/ coalition builder/ norm practitioner)

International Labour Organization and IPEC	Central: labour	Multilateral organization/ interpreter	Norm advocacy
Global March Against Child Labour	Interstices: formal and nonformal; local and international; labour and education	International Coalition/ entrepreneur	Coalition builder;
Global Campaign for Education	Interstices: formal and nonformal; local and international	International Coalition /entrepreneur	Coalition builder
CIDA	Central: state	Donor /enactor	Norm practitioner
Commonwealth Education Fund	Interstices: private, public (education) and non-profit	Donor / enactor	Norm practitioner
Save the Children Alliance	Central: International: non-profit/ nonformal	Donor/ entrepreneur	Norm practitioner
Anti-slavery International	Interstices: International and local; bridging sectors	Advocacy/ interpreter	Norm advocacy
Free the Slaves	Interstices: International and local: bridging sectors	Advocacy/ interpreter	Norm advocacy
Canadian Aid to Southern Sudan	On hope's edge: local focus	Community Based Organization / enactor;	Norm practitioner
Butterflies	On hope's edge: local focus	Community Based Organization/ entrepreneur	Norm practitioner/ coalition builder
South Asian Coalition on Child Servitude	On hope's edge: local focus	Community Based Organization/ entrepreneur	Norm practitioner/ coalition builder

The field is made up of organizations that work at the centre of the field where contact and influence is well established and there are few significant challenges to their legitimacy as an actor. Organizations that are less central occupy spaces at the interstices

or spaces between institutional fields, somewhat like the space between ecosystems where there is a great diversity of organisms. In this case, there are many organizations competing for such things as resources, power, and legitimacy. These are spaces that are both very dangerous and very creative. Organizations that occupy these spaces are often leaders in institutional change and play important bridging roles. I have identified a particular space that describes the location of organizations working in very radical ways: on the edge of hope. These spaces are where much of the very transformational and innovative work gets done and are often out-of-sight from the mainstream and beyond the security of what are considered normal and legitimate actions. These organizations take risks in working with the most marginalized, the most desperate and often the most despairing people. Hope is understood here in the ways suggested by Freire (2004; 1992/2002; 1970/1997) as where action is possible. "One of the tasks of the progressive educator... is to unveil opportunities for hope, no matter what the obstacles may be. After all, without hope there is little we can do (Freire, 1992/2002, p. 9). In this study, the organizations working on the edge of hope are local, community based organizations.

The potential for institutional change (Campbell, 2005; 2004), in this study an end to child slavery and the reintegration of children who have been exploited as slaves, exists in the actors that make up the institutional field. Organizations then can play roles of norm interpreters of established norms, enactors of these norms, or as entrepreneurs that are the harbingers of norm change. The influence on the field is linked to these roles and can be understood as norm advocacy where the actor takes as a primary role, the promotion of a particular norm, for example, the abolition of child labour. Coalition builders focus on ways to bridge and connect different actors in ways to change how

work is being done within the field. Norm practitioners focus on enacting the norms as they exist within the field. These roles suggest particular relationships with other actors will be of interest to different organizations. For example, organizations playing an interpreting and advocacy role, will seek relationships with coalition builders to extend their advocacy influence. Enactors will seek partnerships with practitioners to achieve their program goals.

Therefore, it is clear that the policy context for work addressing child slavery is made up of a complex system of organizational relationships between actors taking different roles. Organizational analysis of international organizations often makes distinctions based solely on local – international positions or relationships of resource distribution. This chapter indicates that these relationships are more complex than that analysis would indicate. Tensions and conflict as well as collaborative possibilities exist across local and international boundaries as well as within these locations.

The institutional relationships identified here suggest very particular paths for legitimizing ideas and programs that perpetuate particular actions over others. In order to extend our understanding of the practices in the field, the next chapter will bring in the voices and experiences of practitioners to help identify any potential areas of change because, as Campbell (2004; 2005) identifies, change is enabled by what is imagined by actors in the field. These imaginings can be challenging enough to established practices that changes begin to take place. Therefore, the following chapter will present information on the potential areas of change within the institutional field and the barriers to such change.

Chapter 6

Shared Ideas and Knowledge: The building blocks of institutions

Introduction

This chapter will explore the ideas and shared knowledge as understood by workers in the field in order to deepen the understanding of how actors in the institutional field interpret and construct meaning which in turn regulates their behaviour. The data are drawn directly from interviews with organizational staff working with education programming, either formal or non-formal, that directly impacts the lives of children who have been enslaved or who are vulnerable to being enslaved. These staff are part of the organizations presented in Chapter 5 and include people working in international and community based organizations located in Canada, the UK, and India. The cognitive structures, or understood meanings, that exist in the institutional field indicate the extent to which ideas have diffused internationally, as well as to where there are gaps or structural holes within the field.

Definitions and understandings of slavery and child slavery

Interviews with organizational personnel revealed a very interesting lack of use of the terms slave and slavery in the work of practitioners. Some have taken up the definition of the ILO and use the term "worst forms of child labour" which include slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage, forced labour, including in armed conflict.(ILO 2000; 2002a; 2002b).

> *We do not use the terms 'child labour' and 'child work' to distinguish between harmful and non-harmful forms of work, but instead use the term 'child work' to*

refer to all forms of child work, explicitly identifying different degrees of harm where necessary. (Interview, international donor agency, 2005)

However, this shift does not necessarily indicate a more substantial or in-depth understanding that will serve to help exploited children and may in fact, provide a mask for the problem:

> *Of course it's slavery – in its worst forms. There is no doubt that these children were slaves. However, slavery is a very political term. Because slavery is banned, no one wants to call it slavery. The government can't say "we have slavery" to the rest of the world. So we don't use it and you shouldn't either.* (Interview, community organization, 2005)

One community educator identified the problem the "child work" approach creates for those who are working to create change:

> *One problem is that the word slavery isn't used; it seems better to use abduction or forced labour. Somehow that makes it easier not to get involved. (Interview, community based organization, 2004)*

Another staff member worked for an international NGO that has taken a position that supports children working said "*our approach is to take the hazard out of the work, not the child out of the work*" (Interview, international NGO, 2005). Another staff member of that organization indicated some difficulty fully articulating this pro-work position highlighting the tensions involved in this cognitive shift:

> *We don't use the term slavery because we understand that term comes with a historical, political context and a historical time period... (pause).. our organization is leery of using the term slavery outside the historical context of*

slavery, and particularly talking about slavery in the continent of Africa between African groups transacting children for sale for work... (pause)... so used in the context of labour, we talk about the worst forms of child labour; in the context of child soldiers, we still put it in the form of worst form of child labour; in the sex trade, we talk about children who are exploited because all children [in the sex trade] are exploited; in the context of child trafficking, we talk about children who have been trafficked. (Interview, international NGO, 2005)

There was also an indication that some staff used a logic of necessity to frame the understanding of child slavery and this provided justification for using the more general term "child work" to describe the experiences of child slaves. It was a commonly held position that reflected an understanding that the exploitation of children as slaves was more of an unfortunate situation for individual children rather than a structural or systemic problem. Contemporary slavery, in this case, is viewed as a failure of local policy and particularly as a failure of individual choice. This was evident in a discussion with Canadian government policy advisors who suggested that human trafficking and situations of slavery were infrequent, but rather there was an increase of children and families making bad choices regarding the work sites for their children (Personal communication, government bureaucrat, 2004).

How organizations and practitioners understand slavery is important and as one educator suggested, it really depends on how people understand exploitation:

It's very, very difficult, the whole problem with definitions. That's a huge problem for everybody. There isn't anybody who has really quite come to come to grips with it. We always go back to the international standards, like the ILO 182, the UN

Slavery Convention, and also in this context UN Convention 29 on Forced Labour that has a lot on child forced labour. We really go back to those each and every time when we come across cases; we always fall back on those to evaluate whether they are slavery. It can be quite hard when you get individual cases, it can be a bit blurred. It can be about how you define exploitation. That's when we fall back on our partners to help get a feel for what the reality is. (Interview, international advocacy organization, 2005)

However, there was one grassroots organization that was very clear in its understanding of child slavery and was committed to making the definition more descriptive of children's experience and more helpful as an intervention tool. This organization uses the terms "child servitude" and "child slavery" rather than child work or child labour.

There is a sharp difference in the concept of the terms Child Labour and Child Servitude. The connotation[of] labour is applicable in a capitalist or industrial set-up where an employee (labourer) sells his/her labour to an employer with certain work related conditionalities such as wages, amenities, bargaining power, rights and legal safe guards. But in the realm of servitude there is no identity of the worker. He has to just obey the master and he is entirely at the mercy of the latter. The decision of the master is unquestionable. The status of the child worker is congruous exactly to these phenomena and hence it would be appropriate to classify child labour as child servitude. (Personal communication, unpublished document, community based organization, 2004).

In this case, child slaves are not viewed as workers as they can not sell their labour, but instead they have only an identity as slave which is different than one of an exploited

worker. This identity of a slave is at the centre of the organization's approach to providing education.

As I gathered data by interviewing practitioners, I became aware of the impact organizations and their staff have in diffusing understandings of slavery. As I have indicated, reasons for not using slavery ranged from it being "too emotional" to being "too political". It was helpful then, to know, which of these practitioners was providing guidance and information to others in the field about slavery. I posed the question: Do you give advice to others in the field? Responses indicated that some of the organizations with the largest reach, internationally and locally, had significant difficulty using the term slavery:

> *I think generally how we approach it is through the rights based approach. Partly it's about how do we define it. At a programming level, probably no one is doing that definitional work.* (Interview, donor agency,2005)

> *Slavery is very emotive and I would be reluctant to move into that until I was really very well convinced, personally. But as a unit we don't have consensus on what term to use; we haven't sat down and said let's have a look.* (Interview, donor agency, 2005)

> *In our experience, we say children who are enslaved do exist. That's just how we put it: children who are enslaved do exist. But we do not use the term as you described, child slavery, and render the historical context absolute.* (Interview, international NGO, donor agency, 2005)

It can be very sensitive to use the word slavery...I have that experience when you go to a country and look at issues that could be slavery, but the local groups don't even want to even engage with you if you are using the term slavery. So work on child labour can be difficult ... most cases of child labour can be also called slavery, not all, but most cases. That can be very sensitive. But I think where it is slavery you aren't doing any favours by not calling what it is. These definitions have been developed over many years and you just roll back what has been done ... you are really taking something away if you are avoiding what it is. But you must be mindful of the word slavery and what it really is. If people aren't clear on what the meaning is, when people are talking about slavery and it's not, and again that's not very helpful. We try to be very careful and when we know a situation where things are, we're not afraid to use slavery. (Interview, international advocacy organization, 2005)

The reasons for the hesitancy in naming slavery for what it is, were not immediately clear. It may be that organizations that require good relationships at local, national and international levels in order to continue their work, are hesitant to use the term slavery if it will create a barrier to accessing and maintaining partners. However, it is hard to imagine moving forward with effective interventions and programming provision if even the most basic understandings and definitions are not shared. In addition to problems of definition, issues that were identified by organization practitioners included a sense that efforts to address contemporary slavery seem to avoid the complexity of the issue and therefore are rendered ineffective. As international norm interpreters and in some cases,

entrepreneurs, this blurring of definitions by these organizations, will have a significant impact on policy and programming at all levels.

The Needs of Children Who Have Been Enslaved or Are Vulnerable to Being Enslaved

Practitioners who work rescuing children from slavery or providing services to them when they are freed, have particularly important information about what children need. Interestingly, these voices are not necessarily the ones that inform policy or action within the institutional field. The following responses were collected in interviews with practitioners working on local projects including the repatriation of child camel jockeys enslaved in the United Arab Emirates (UAE), children returning to their home communities in Southern Sudan, and children rescued from slavery in various industries in South East Asia, including those being trafficked to slaveholders in parts of Europe, the United Kingdom and North America.

> *The issues for repatriation and reintegration in the community are enormous. Basically, you need, from the get go, you need independent inspectors who trail the races and training grounds to find the children; after inspection children also have to be removed and taken somewhere safe; even before you leave the country so much needs to happen in terms of rehabilitation, medicine, counseling; health education, there needs to be health care and even with education; they need to bridge education; that needs to happen before they leave; if a child leaves [home] at 4 or 5, its very difficult to even know where they come from; it's hard to tell a Bangladeshi child from a Pakistani child; some of the children don't even know what country they come from let alone what community; ideally the family should*

be traced before the child leaves; the family might also be in the UAE or a Gulf country and who knows, the family may not be able to go back to their community, and many years may have passed; It may not be good for them [the children] to go back to the community; you also need to investigate the family also and understand why they were sent away in the first place; There are lots of issues; you need to talk with the family and understand why the child was taken away; and the communities must be contacted so the community can accept the child back in ways that are helpful; and then there are legal issues; if you are going to charge traffickers then the child needs to be protected for other reasons, from all sorts of horrible things that can happen to them if the trafficker gets a hold of them; plus, you need to know in the country that you can work with the family and know that you are sending the child back to a good environment. You have to be sure that things are going to be good. That doesn't happen in all countries.(Interview, international advocacy organization, 2005)

The children who are former slaves come back with different experiences. There is a very different culture and they must re-enter their community. They are also older, so there are problems with their age and their ability. They have missed primary education and been culturized differently. For example, boys that have been in the North come back and don't respect their mothers or other women. They are more violent because of being in the culture in the North and being a slave in that culture. For many, rehabilitation is just working on the basics, like finding food. (Interview, community based organization, 2005)

These children need a sense of belonging. (Interview, community based organization, 2005)

It is hard for them returning to the village [from transit centres] where there are only the basic necessities. They have been in places where there is TV, running water, markets, candy, coca cola. The village seems backward and rural to them. The kids have difficulty with this and some want to return. For example, one girl that wanted to return was at a UNICEF reception program for six months where she had TV, coke, running water. The village seemed boring and backward to her. On the other hand women who return are just happy to be back. (Interview, community based organization, 2005)

These perspectives indicate that policies need to be in place to provide ways for this information to be disseminated across traditional policy boundaries, for example, across education, child health services, justice, immigration/migration, and international cooperation sectors. The issues for children are interrelated and responses, including both policy and programming, must reflect this. Again, the importance of developing relationships is highlighted as are the difficulties embedded in organizing the complex network of actors that need to be involved. Even within agencies, there were inconsistencies identified that created gaps in addressing child slavery and education:

Partly it will be because within [our agency] there is a separate division for education and they follow a whole separate set of [ideas] based on EFA [education for all]. And they haven't always taken a rights based approach although they are

actually moving in that direction now. A lot of the irony of the international policy statement, as opposed to what had before, was that people work very much in silos.. (Interview, donor agency, 2005)

Formal and Non-formal Education Programming

As indicated in Chapter 5, the formal education sector has been slow to respond to the issue of child slavery. Most education is provided by local community organizations and NGOs, and is designed to either replace formal education or to help move a child quickly through a literacy program to get them ready for work. Participants in this study indicated they were each searching for education programming that would address the needs of the children. These programs included:

1) A recreation approach, for example:

[What happens now is] education is focused on vocational training and recreation. For girls there is recreation, for example, sewing groups. Literary training is embedded in the recreation. It takes place outside the primary school. (Interview, community based organization, 2005)

2) Back to work approach, for example:

They are 15 or 16 years old and they want jobs in their communities. They need a sense of worth in their communities...We try to do more than talk about taking action, we teach them how to work in the system and get decisions made. They need both economic and political power. (Interview, community based organization, 2004).

3) Reclaiming culture approach, for example:

Organizations are trying to get them to group together. We have former slaves tell their story. They need to tell their story so it doesn't get forgotten. To record the story so people know. The former slaves do the telling.

(Interview, community based organization, 2004).

It is significant again, that little mention was made of working with the formal education sector. In addition, while the human rights frame was evident in the policy documents in Chapter 5, these local education providers did not discuss either human rights or citizenship education as children's needs. International organizations' policy documents were more likely to use some form of human rights framework to their work. At the local level, the human rights and citizenship approach has not necessarily been taken up. Participants from nonlocally based organizations discussed their role in educating local organizations and community children about a human rights approach:

Part of what our organization does with partners, is to help children understand their rights. At a program level we've established child committees. These children are trained in the convention of rights of the child and they take part in the governance decision-making process. (Interview, international NGO, donor agency, 2005)

For some, working with a human rights frame is challenging as it is viewed in some communities as an imposed concept:

One thing I found working [in the field], people would say, "the rights of the child? That's European. That's not African. But the counter to that is that the

African Union came up with their own version of the convention on the rights of the child and it is very similar to the CRC but they recognized the cultural aspect. (Interview, international donor agency, 2005)

The tensions within the cultural perspective were not generally identified but one respondent indicated the need to be attentive to the complexity of cultural perspectives and local/non-local contexts.

The bottom line is that no one wants children to be harmed, that's the bottom line for all of those documents so you have to use that as your base, and recognize that some cultural conditions are harmful. Then with the cultural aspects, you look at things like trafficking and the contexts for trafficking, like gender discrimination, they are very much culturally situated. By and large, people hide behind cultural elements in these cases. Cultures aren't uniform, there are always groups within a culture. There are some who quote a particular part of cultural history and ignore other parts. There are always progressive elements in the culture who say "this is not right". (Interview, international donor agency, 2005)

If child slavery is at the intersection of local patterns of exclusion and global economic structural violence, taking a child centered position seems imperative even if those with positions of power, whether local or global, will be certain to object. Study participants did not identify "education as a child's human right" to be part of their thinking about addressing child slavery. When human rights were discussed, it was framed in a more general "rights based approach" terminology which is a common phrase in development

organization circles. However, there seems to be little dissecting of what this term actually means. Participants were very vague and hesitant to respond to the question: "A right to what?" This is significant when we frame children's rights as universal, indivisible and legally enforceable rights to provision, protection and participation.

Relationship with Education Sector

As indicated in the policy documents, progress on linking formal and non-formal education initiatives is slow. Participants confirmed this in the interviews.

> *You will see that in general, partners did not place much emphasis on engaging with teachers, perhaps as they are not ILO constituent members, government, employers, and trade unions being the tripartite members of the ILO.* (Personal communication, International advocacy organization, 2005)

Not only were educators seen as outside the work of the organized labour sector, they were not viewed as significant contributors to addressing issues of child slavery. In an interview with a school principal from southern Sudan it was clear that education was not seen as a priority, locally or nationally. This practitioner's school provides education to a significant number of children who have been rescued from slavery and returned to their community.

> *Education is treated very badly. In colonial times, education was left to the church. The colonial powers left the whole of education to the church. So the church is now, because of that experience, is trying to emphasize and give priority to education... This is one way that the government has kept the people down. It is very much known that if you educate then you will be ready to get some opposition,*

you will have people aware of their rights. They want to keep the people down so they [the government] never cared for them or education. If they are ignorant they can't do anything. (Interview, local school personnel, 2004)

This exclusion of educators was echoed by other organization staff working internationally:

Education is only brought in at the program level, not at the policy level (Interview, international NGO, donor agency, 2005)

When educators do become involved it was felt that this was not necessarily an intentional policy direction:

You may be thinking that it is all coordinated and orchestrated in some way, but in my opinion, it is probably not. (Interview, international donor agency, 2005)

Generally, at local and national levels, children and the needs of children, are seen as outside political and policy processes as well as the "more important" work of economic development. In addition, the issue of child slavery is not necessarily seen as a priority for international donors and policy makers. Local community based organizations all expressed their frustration with the gap between the local needs that they had identified and the international agenda.

The support is there because of the target countries and the target themes. The decisions are made by foreign affairs, made by governments whether Ottawa, Washington or London. At the moment, it is in the interest of international governments to deal with the millennium development goals. (Interview, international NGO, donor agency, 2005)

We are in a way, at the mercy of funding, so the priority countries that are dictated by our respective governments in the alliance are then mentioned in our thematic areas which are priority themes. We are influenced, not necessarily forced, to go in that direction; we <u>are</u> influenced by our government policy. (Interview, international NGO, 2005)

One key way of influence is, of course, through funding mechanisms. Organizations that work locally do not have easy access to funds. This donor candidly identifies the tendency to look for the easiest way to "get the money out the door". It is much easier to fund very large organizations.

If you think of Canada and how aid is distributed, it is so much easier to fund multilaterally. So you give your money to UNICEF or UNDP or whatever. So part of that is, it's just how money gets out the door. (Interview, donor agency, 2005)

There was a sense that collaboration was essential if the needs of children were to be addressed in an effective manner. However, while the talk of collaboration was evident, there were concerns about how that might actually happen. Participants all discussed the difficulty with making organizational decisions regarding who to engage with, what projects to support, and to what extent and form this support would take. These decisions were complicated by tensions over competition for funds, protection of turf, and influence by external actors.

It's a pretty political decision. It is all political. It is all to do with the diasporas and political interests. (Interview, donor agency, 2005)

I think health is more important to donors like [our government]. They focus more on health and not much on education. (Interview, international NGO, 2005)

I think that selecting the target group and determining who is going to be impacted, yes, it is complicated and it is a decision that needs to be made, to satisfy the donors. For example, in one of our projects in Burkina Faso, we've identified the most vulnerable areas for the most vulnerable children. And that's how we've gone about trying to target the 2 400 children for a 4 year program. But it is a decision that we have to make in program development, we have to make it. We can take that into a larger scale, and we have to decide, how do we identify whether to work on HIV or child labour or what issue we should tackle. So it becomes a larger issue. (Interview, international NGO, donor agency, 2005).

At the local school level, where there is a chronic shortage of funds and policy influence, educators expressed extreme frustration about how they must engage with donors, both public and private.

Yes we work with some NGOs. They provide us with materials, like textbooks and materials. We have a great difficulty in getting these things. Organizations that are helpful? Mostly the UN and international education organizations. At the moment we have some local NGOs but they are not doing much. And besides they have to ask the international NGOs to help. So the local indigenous organizations can't really do much. This is very difficult I tell you! They do their best to go and ask agencies for help to fund our own schools. We send them the project[description]

and when they see the project meets their own needs, then they send us the funds

(Interview, formal school personnel, 2004)

International organizations tend to work mainly with other NGOs and participants discussed the importance of building good working relationships with local organizations in order to carry out the work.

We usually work with NGOs, usually with international NGOs in which ever country we are working in. Usually we work in countries where we have effective local partners. So we would rather work in areas that we know we have good partners. We would rather work in areas that we know we will get good results. That often dictates where we work. We work more thematically and our colleagues work more geographically. We work with many NGO partners. But we also work with ILO or IPEC, and we lobby a lot in the international arena, so with the United National, international labour organization, international trade unions, various UN agencies, whatever is relevant to our work. We also lobby governments.

(Interview, international advocacy organization, 2005)

Participants did not identify particular reasons or logics behind choosing NGO partners over formal education partners. Is this because schools as extensions of governments are considered "off limits"? Or, do NGOs just have better ways of being connected? All participants named collaboration and building networks as being important to their work. However, they also discussed the significant tensions and challenges involved in building these relationships. These challenges reflect tensions between international and local organizations. From the international donor position:

Challenges are there including competition, the growing pains, and politics of growth. We need to step back and say, we are here to support you but not to intervene in how you grow. It is always difficult to communicate this. (Interview, international donor agency, 2005)

In contrast, small local organizations understand that they play a very different and essential role in addressing social justice at the community level and want this position to be respected.

We don't want to be big. Why? We want to be in one place for a long time and make a commitment to the local people. We want longevity not breadth. In big organizations there is a culture that forms around fundraising and high costs. That is not where we want to work. Big organizations bring western culture, western ways, and overpower the local culture. There is also the question of raising expectations when big outside organizations come in, material expectations. We want to bring HOPE not stuff! (Interview, community based organization, 2004).

When local organizations and communities are understood to have valuable knowledge, partnerships are more likely to lead to effective work.

In terms of carrying out our work, we work with NGOs that will help with the work that we are doing; I recently established a partnership with an organization in Pakistan and we chose them not because they had the experience in the issue per se, they didn't; there were organizations with much more experience with the issue but we wanted to get the message to the community. What we found that the other organizations working on the issue in Pakistan were able to raise the issue, but

they didn't have the direct community connection that we were looking for. That's what we were looking for, an organization that was really connected at the community. There isn't much use of trying to get a message across if you aren't connected to the community. (Interview, international advocacy organization, 2005)

I think a lot had to do with the expertise of the partners involved. In every case, they were very able. They understood the subject very well. They were well respected in their own communities. Those that had the most success, they had government support that seemed to help. A general helpful environment was helpful; where there isn't one, it is much more difficult. I think where there was a good network of NGOs it was easier. They were very good at mobilizing, so there were lots of campaigning and engaging with the villagers. They were good at getting people on board in a participatory way. I think also there were good relations with the media. There isn't really one blueprint, it's just making the best of the situation and making the best of what's available. (Interview, international advocacy organization, 2005)

For organizations that are committed to collaborative work, juggling the varying needs and approaches of the network actors poses significant challenges.

So there are all sorts of problems coordinating the different actors. ..like the role of education. There are so many different factors that need to be in place, and so many actors that need to be brought in and mobilized and engaged in the journey. That is the biggest challenge in itself. Every organization has its own agenda and

its own constituencies and these all have to be satisfied. It can be very difficult. I think we actually have had quite a bit of success. We did a project that ended about a year ago, which was successful. One of the things it aimed to do is to bring together very different really diverse actors, in many cases for the first time, to work together. It was employers, trade unions, governments, social care professional, lawyers, health professionals.... It also brought together the children themselves, with families, tribal leaders, and religious leaders. We brought them together and mobilized them to work together. Each actor played an important part and I was really quite amazed at how it worked so successfully. But it was a very challenging experience. (Interview, international advocacy organization, 2005)

One international organization identified communicating organizational learning related to collaborative work was an important contribution they could make to addressing child exploitation:

Working together has always been important to us and we are trying to document this experience, it is difficult to work together; it can be quite challenging. We are trying to develop our learning around this; one of the main things that we want to get out of the project is that the organizational learning won't be done in isolation. A lot of what we are looking at especially looking at the gaps; what we are finding is that there are really great and innovative projects out there, but those experiences don't get shared between different organizations, within countries, or across countries. These things don't necessarily get recognized and scaled up and replicated in other areas. So that is one thing that we have to take responsibility for and see that that learning get shared; we need to make those changes and do

different ways of working. So this project is an interesting way to look at that (Interview, donor agency, 2005)

It was recognized by participants that working collaboratively requires human and financial resources if it is to be effective.

> *Part of what we are doing is giving the country level coalitions some funds to get themselves organized; to get their organizational structures in place. It probably wouldn't happen if they didn't have some support. It is difficult to get the grassroots to organize in a national coalition. We are quite careful in terms of not dictating what they are doing; we are supporting them because we are committed to supporting coalition work but what they do at a country level is up to them. So it is trying to help them get the structure in a stable place where they can identify what their priorities are.* (Interview, donor agency, 2005)

However, coalition work is not necessarily valued at either the community or international level. With current trends of organizational branding and competition, there is a need to educate about coalition work and how to value and reward cooperative and collaborative work. In many ways, the processes to support this kind of work are not in place, at local, regional or international levels.

> *Sometimes when we report "a coalition achieved getting certain things" then I don't think that always has the same resonance with people; it's not like "we built 20 schools". But collaborative work is really, really important as a way to get people's voices into the policy process and what a country should do to address the issues of education.* (Interview, donor agency, 2005)

The value of a coalition approach to organizing civil society was also highlighted by participants:

> *I also think the government will say, 'we don't know what to do? Who do we draw on? Who do we invite to the table?' So before these coalitions were in place with the stability and the funding, then there was a really fragmented civil society and, who do the government invite to the table? With the coalition in place, then there is a focused voice.* (Interview, donor agency, 2005)

There were no participants who identified problems of exclusion as being of concern and this may be, at least in part, because of the chain referral sampling for the study. All participants viewed coalitions as being difficult but being necessary and these coalitions were seen as quite neutral in terms of who participated and how they participated, although there was a recognition that these relationships could be dynamic:

> *So the normal ebb and flow in the relationships around particular times. I think that is normal for coalitions; coalitions are most effective when people are really clear about what they're in it for and have the same agenda; I think coalitions are really , really useful; when they aren't clear then it gets a bit more disparate and it's difficult to see the point but it's still good to keep the links there because there are ebb and flow moments; it's good to still keep in touch.* (Interview, international advocacy organization, 2005)

Barriers to Effective Work on the Issue of Contemporary Slavery

Barriers to effective work identified by practitioners included:

1) A culture of silence. This silence can be linked to the general avoidance of the term "slavery" within the institutional field. With regulations against slavery,

including international and national laws, the fact that slavery existed within communities indicates a significant tension within the regulative, normative and cognitive structures in the field.

> *The biggest obstacle is the culture of silence. That isn't just in Canada, that's across the board. When I worked in Gambia, we developed a few slogans for the children and one was "break the silence"; because children will say that very, very strongly. People know things are going on but for some strange reason they tend not to pay attention to it. I was involved in research on child sex tourism and people kept quiet. It [child slavery] is held in place by silence. The government kept quiet and said "we can't afford to lose our tourism dollars. We can't afford to lose that". So what they tried to do is suppress anything that came to their attention. By sheer luck we happened to be in the government tourism office presenting some information to them regarding our survey, when something came across the guy's desk, he was an executive, and he said "this is an example, look at this, if this got out we would lose our tourism" ; and we said if you don't do something about it you will lose your tourism.* (Interview, international donor agency, 2005)

Children can also be exploited because of the silence of patrimony:

> *And people are embarrassed, they don't know what to say. And what I saw with some families, is that they don't want to take on the customers. These nice Europeans are paying us and what the Europeans would do is pay for a kid's education. So the kid was in a situation where being abused by this nice European. So how could they say no to this? The family would say to the kid, look*

this is your problem. You have to do this. You have to continue. This nice person is paying. It's life. Then if there is no system for children in place, who does the child talk to? Where do they go?(Interview, donor agency, 2005)

2) Not understanding the extent of the problem because the rights of children are ignored

*Agencies have difficulty with two things: one, a child rights based approach and two, acknowledging the extent to which children are being abused; we need to have child rights champions that will stand up and say "this is what is happening, and you need to address it, no matter how uncomfortable it makes you; no matter what you feel; it's not about charity but it is about children's rights in certain issues and certainly to protection; it is not a popular position to take. (*Interview, donor agency, 2005)

3) Slavery is big business.

*There is also corruption and lots of people were being paid. I think there is lots of money to be made in trafficking. I think it's the second largest in organized crime (*Interview, international donor agency, 2005)

Again, the primacy of economic thinking as the logic "trump" is indicated. Regardless of the social and personal costs of slavery, the economic gains act as a silencing and normative force. This argument is not new, with parallel arguments made for the continuation of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade in the 18th and 19th centuries (Bales, 1999).

4)There is a need for more than laws and the enforcement of those that exist.

> *The feedback from partners and what we see, there are so many problems [regarding child slaves]. It can come down to legislation. Often there isn't implementation if the law is in place. Or the international aspects may not in place or the international ratification is in place but the law might not be in place; if the law is in place it isn't enforced, or people aren't aware of the law, or they don't know what the standards are; or for whatever reason, culturally, socially, they don't really believe the laws or think the laws are relevant or helpful.* (Interview, international advocacy organization, 2005)

These perceived barriers indicate the challenges practitioners understand to exist when addressing child slavery and providing for children who have been enslaved. It is significant that these barriers were not addressed in the policy documents presented in Chapter 5. However, it is clear that the barriers provide a significant influence on the actions within the field.

The theory of institutional change indicates that these barriers of silence, limited knowledge about the extent of abuse of children, the need to enforce laws, and intervention in the lucrative business of slavery, can be most effectively addressed by a coordinated approach that involves institutional actors from across the range of the institutional field.

What is the Potential for Change?

Participants identified the need for systemic change if there is to be any real improvement in the life possibilities of exploited children. However, systemic change

was seen as more difficult because organizational stakeholders do not necessarily understand the complexity of what is needed.

> *One of the learnings that happened was that the projects that were happening in the past around education were not sufficient in terms of tackling the bigger challenges of providing education. [Our network partners] wanted to tackle some of the systemic issues, take a more systemic approach that included advocacy work in addition to the work that is going on in the individual organizations. I think what we are doing is quite different and we are challenged to explain what we are doing because it is different; you know when you are working on something tangible, like building a school, then people can see that but when you are working on policy work it can be a little bit vague and we have to explain what exactly advocacy means and how that can have a really great impact in terms of changing policy, shaping policy and changing practice.*(Interview, international advocacy organization, 2005)

> *We are getting away from a more traditional service delivery program. Asking what can we do at a systemic level? What can we do at a big change level in terms of influencing governments? So there was some sensitivities around those areas, influencing education policy and influencing budgets and being quite critical of things but at the same time wanting to work with governments to help them and wanting to not set ourselves up as a kind of opposition so we couldn't be of help and have that collaboration. We wanted to position ourselves as helping to establish the coalitions and being seen as trusted partners of the ministries of*

education and getting that collaboration. So the coalition could do things, for example, like help with research work that perhaps the government just doesn't have the money to do. So they could provide the information of what is really happening at the community level. (Interview, international donor agency, 2005)

Another participant identified the need to work with the concept of schools as spaces of protection for children who are vulnerable to being marginalized. This shift in how schools are viewed would encourage more effective programming at the local level. However, there are many barriers to this shift, including the quality of education that is currently offered in many schools.

I think more and more people are recognizing the protective nature of education. But again there is a context to that... if you look at the number of teachers in developing countries, in rural areas, and some urban areas. Education is both a savior for children but it is part of the oppression. On the positive side, that structure and that environment, if managed properly can be very protective. Both in terms of basic education so children can develop in their thinking capacity but also in the communication capacity. So a classroom environment where children can hear as part of that process, what life is about, ... so that information is getting to them. You know all the arguments about the longer a child stays in school the less likely they are to get married young and be healthy etc.. And obviously for girls that is really strong. But on the other side if it is not quality education then it is not that supportive. [In many cases] kids go to the classroom and the teacher wouldn't turn up, the kids would knock on the teachers' common room door and ask if the teacher

would please come to class. It is about resources and training and it's about how teachers themselves feel about what they are doing, why they are doing it and how they are remunerated for what they do. (Interview, donor agency, 2005)

Conclusions

Clearly, there will be no change for child slaves and those children vulnerable to being enslaved if there aren't significant shifts in how we think about them and their contexts. Data in this chapter has indicated several areas where cognitive structures are in the process of shifting as well as barriers to these changes. Such shifts can be understood as processes of bricolage where old ideas are taken, combined in new ways and reworked into changed action; of diffusion, where new ideas are spread through networks of relationships; or of translation and enactment, a process where new ideas are taken up and reworked or translated to fit old ways of acting.

Evidence of change

As Campbell (2005;2004) suggests, the potential for change is heavily influenced by how institutional actors cognitively imagine and understand working in different ways. This chapter has identified areas of tension between policy statements and the enactment of these policies in the practice of people in organizations. There is also evidence of both actual and potential shifting cognitive understandings.

(1) Challenging silence by making slaves visible:

Study participants named silence as a key issue in perpetuating child slavery. Some organization staff members have used a process of diffusion as they become more clear about the need to name slavery for what it is and as they work for increasing enforcement of slavery laws and universal education norms.

(2) Free market ideology and neoliberal norms: In this area I am considering market ideology and neoliberalism to be well entrenched in the areas of this research. Therefore, the process of bricolage is evident when we look at some initiatives that focus on child participation. Calls for increased children's participation (a new idea) have been combined with neoliberal norms to create an approach to children's participation that supports the neoliberal agenda of a shifting responsibility from the state to individuals. From this position, the ultimate success of neoliberalism is the participation of citizens thereby freeing (to varying degrees) the state from its role of protection and provision. The Convention on the Rights of the Child promotes an integrated approach to children's entitlements to protection, provision and participation. By championing children's participation without also including provision and protection, the child is understood to be able to freely (and individually) make choices and take action to provide and protect himself or herself.

(3) Collaborative work that integrates formal and nonformal education for social justice: While it is evident that the idea of collaborative work was clearly present in the institutional field (a process of diffusion), most respondents did not have much knowledge of how to build effective collaborative relationships for social justice, thus limiting Campbell's "cognitively imagined change" (2004; 2005). Despite this, there was some evidence of the diffusion of the idea of the universal right to education as a social justice approach.

This chapter has presented the ideas and practices that exist as a result of the institutional norms and regulations that were identified in chapter five. This chapter has extended the understanding of the actors within the institutional field, their relationships

as forces that restrain and enable change, and the practices that are legitimized and challenged. The understanding of this policy context, created within the institutional field, will provide important contextualizing of the case study data in the next chapter.

Chapter 7

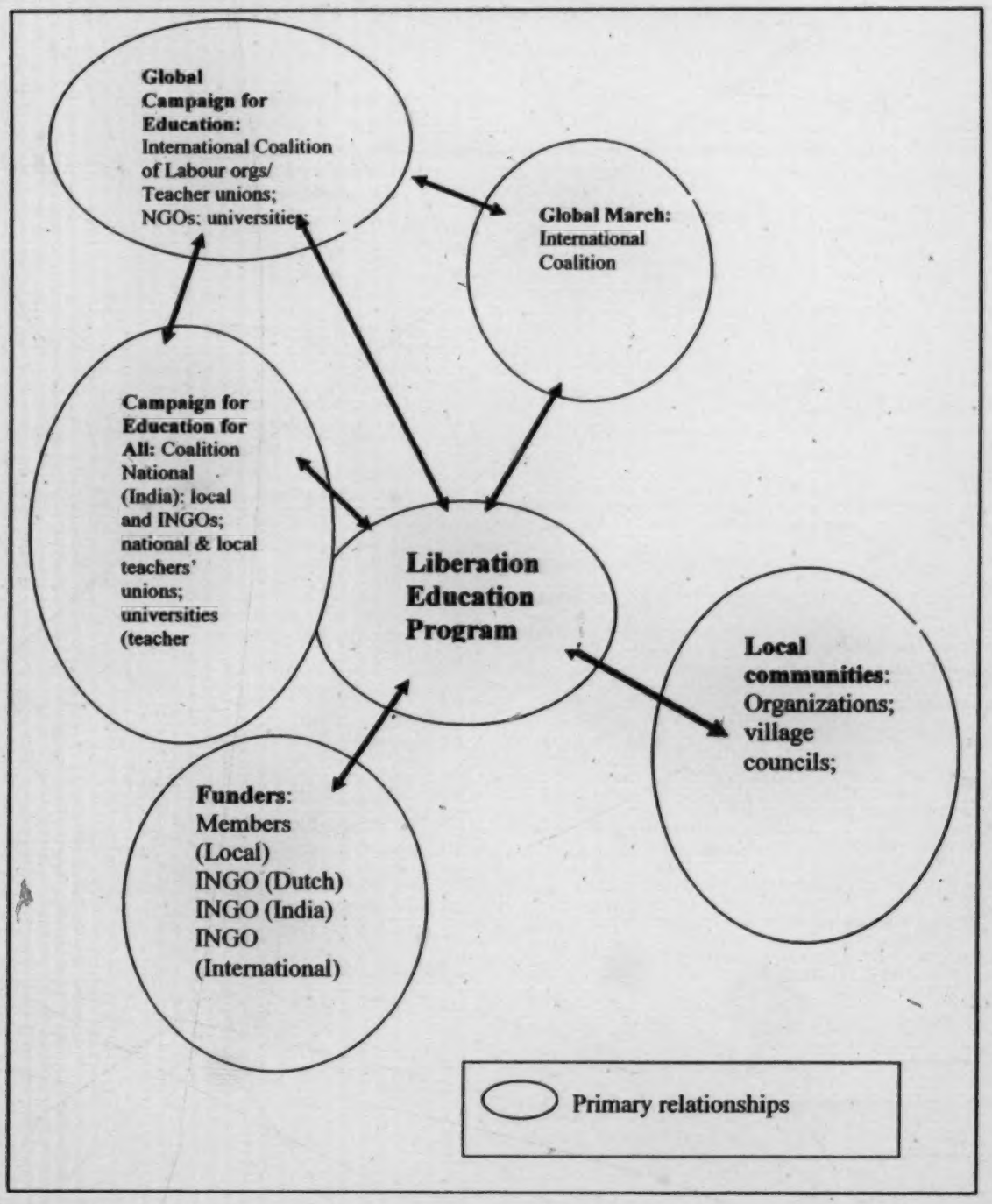
Educating on the Edge of Hope: The Case of the Liberation Education Program

> *All liberating practice- which values the exercise of will, of decision, of resistance, of choice, the role of emotions, of feelings, of desires, of limits, the importance of historic awareness, of an ethical human presence in the world, and the understanding of history as possibility and never as determination – is substantively hopeful and, for this very reason, produces hope. (Freire, 2004, p. 24)*

Introduction

The second phase of the research for this study involved a case study of an organization that was identified as being exemplary by study participants. The case study helps to focus on how the institutional field affects the work related to child slavery and reflects an understanding that a case is best understood when you examine its context as well as its particular details. This case study examines the work at the *Liberation Education* program. The study focuses on the *Liberation Education program* because it is the location of the education program for children who have been rescued from slavery as well as a prevention program called the the Bal Mitra Gram or Child Friendly Village program that seeks to create a protective local community as a way of preventing child slavery. Organizational changes are taking place at this time due to growing connections in the institutional field as well as the organization's commitment to keep the work connected to the grassroots while maintaining a very high international profile.

Figure 2: ***Liberation Education*** **Connections in the Institutional Field**


Global Campaign for Education: International Coalition of Labour orgs/ Teacher unions; NGOs; universities
Global March: International Coalition
Campaign for Education for All: Coalition National (India): local and INGOs; national & local teachers' unions; universities (teacher
Liberation Education Program
Local communities: Organizations; village councils;
Funders: Members (Local) INGO (Dutch) INGO (India) INGO (International)
Primary relationships

The location of *Liberation Education* in the institutional field is of significance. While the key relationships are with local communities, this organization has very strong links with national and international coalitions working for change. As the analysis of the policy context in the previous chapters suggests, this organization is positioned to have a significant impact on the institutional field. International organizations seek relationships with *Liberation Education* because of its local connections and innovative programming. It acts as the hub of an extensive network of local organizations including community groups, teachers' associations, and village councils. *Liberation Education* has a wide range of actors that look to it as a leader in the field and, therefore, the norms and values reflected in the practice of this organization stand to be diffused broadly within the field. These norms and practices are of significance in this study of change and social justice.

Liberation Education Program was established in 1991 as a transit rehabilitation centre for rescued child slaves and bases its work on the principles of universal human rights as indicated in policy statements such as the following:

> Children are human beings and are bearers of human rights. They are born free and equal in dignity and rights as all other human beings. They have the right not to be held in slavery or servitude, not to be subjected to torture or to cruelty, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. They have the right to education, rest and leisure, to an adequate standard of living. They have the right to move freely and to be protected by law. (Unpublished policy document, *Liberation Education* Program, nd)

Context for Work in Child Slavery

India is home to one in three illiterate people in the world (National Coalition for Education, 2005). It is also one of the countries with a very significant number of children exploited in labour situations, including slavery. As identified earlier in this study, quantifying the problem of child slavery is very difficult but, according to Human Rights Watch (1998), there are about 15 million child slaves in India. As with most other countries, this problem exists within a system with ample regulations in place to eliminate child slavery if enforced (See Appendix B.). India has also made important international agreements that indicate the government will ensure laws and enforcement mechanisms are in place. For example, India ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) in 1992 which is the frame for the rights of children. India has committed to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which frame, among other things, a commitment to the provision of universal primary education by 2015. The MDGs also promote the elimination of gender disparity in education, which in the case of India, is a significant and challenging target. There do seem to be some very recent significant changes in how girls are being included in education and this was confirmed in my field work.

> When I traveled with the coordinator of the National Campaign for Education across 3 northern India states, we visited village schools and met with teachers, union representatives, and children to discuss the progress on these goals. Perhaps one of the most informative sessions serendipitously happened as we waited on the road beside a rather remote village in the hills of Jharkhand, while

our driver searched for a tire repair service or a ride to the nearest bus station. Our timing was such that all the village children passed by us on their way home from school. An informal count indicated roughly equal numbers of boys and girls. My host, in her wonderful style, began to stop the children and ask what they had learned at school. As the group gathered around us, she began playing with the children and doing counting games and quizzing them on general topics. Soon mothers from the village began to arrive to find out who these women were that were talking to their children. (Of course, a white woman was even more unusual in this area and I felt bad that I may have caused some of the mothers particular worry over the safety of their children. However, I really was an observer in this whole process and with a vehicle that was unable to move, there were not many alternatives!) Soon there began a cross generational discussion on "educational change" in the village. The mothers were very animated when they spoke about wanting their children to go to school. Not many spoke English and those translating were sometimes hard to understand. I didn't need translation to see the enthusiasm and smiles as these women talked of a better life for their children. Most of the women were very vocal about the importance of sending girls to school and framed this change as betterment for the child, the whole family and, ultimately, the whole village. My host was extremely excited by what she saw as a significant shift of thinking. That this was happening in a tiny village in a remote area, seemed like a sign that the idea of gender equity could become a reality. Interestingly, as we played and chatted with the mothers and children, two men joined us. The conversation changed noticeably and they began to dominate the

> discussion with what my host later described as rhetoric from a radicalized group of extremists. Their comments challenged the idea that education was important and they declared that the "oppressors must be eliminated" before any change would come about. At that point, our driver returned with a borrowed vehicle and we were off. A few kilometers down the road we met several army vehicles loaded and on their way toward the village. Later we heard the news that the army was moving in to fight the extremists. My host and I reflected on how the gains in education were so very fragile in a world without peace. (Field notes, 2005)

As this encounter confirms, the issues related to child slavery are interconnected with wider issues, such as peace, masculinism, and racial, religious and ethnic exclusion, which are most often addressed without considering the impacts or needs of children in general and certainly without thought of marginalized children.

An Integrated Approach

Within this complex environment, the staff at *Liberation Education* work tenaciously to improve the lives of exploited children. They take an integrated approach to the work, addressing regulative, normative and cognitive aspects of institutional change including organizing raids and rescues, providing rehabilitation and education, and working on strengthening local communities as protective sites for children.

Raid and Rescues: Working with Regulative Structures

One of *Liberation Education's* first approaches to working to eliminate child servitude was to carry out raids at sites where children were being held as slaves.

Between 2002 and 2005, 861 children were rescued by *Liberation Education* staff. Raid and rescue involves three important areas of work:

(1) Identification of child labour

(2) Raid, rescue and release of children

(3) Issuance of release certification and subsequent government package

These rescue operations are carried out by working with existing legislation that prohibits the exploitation of children and engages the local authorities in enforcing those regulations. While this sounds rather tame on paper, in reality, a raid is a very dangerous undertaking and staff are always aware that their lives and the children's lives are in very real danger. During a raid, the staff make careful plans so they can move very quickly, starting with gathering the local authorities able to sign a search warrant as well as the head of police, and moving immediately on to the offending work site. After years of carrying out these raids, staff are very skilled at finding the children within work sites and releasing them. The first step is to get them the medical help they need, then to find their home villages and families. When it is clear that the children will be safe, each child is taken home where the staff discuss with the family the possibility of the child entering into a rehabilitation and education program. Organization documents indicate there were 305 sites that were raided and/or challenged by L*iberation Education in 2002-2005.*:

Legal Interventions 2002-2005

States	**Legal Interventions**
Delhi	26

Uttar Pradesh	64
Chattisqarh	2
Bihar	146
Haryana	15
Madhya Pradesh	39
Jharkhand	1
Rajastathan	12
Total	305

Figure 3. Source: Organization Document, Annual Report

As a result of these raids and court challenges, more than 9 000 children were rescued from slavery.

Children released from work and enrolled in schools

Location	**2002-05**
Ferozabad	1584
Agra	168
Delhi	1464
Patna	714
Saharsa	414
Bhopal	1657
Latur	400

Jaipur	982
Mandsaur	675
Mirzapur	660
Mehoob Nagar	532
Total	9250

Figure 4 Source: Organization Document, Annual Report

These actions took place across India and involved children working in several different industries:

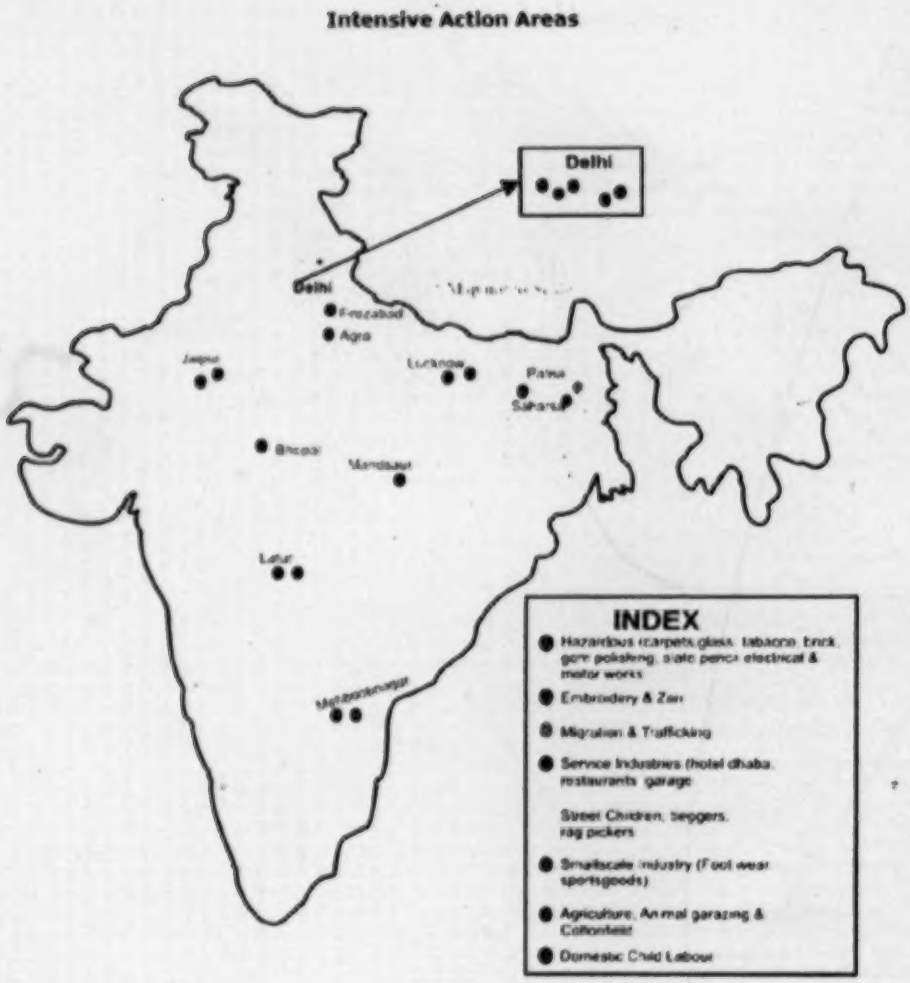


Figure 5. Organization Document, Annual Report

The third outcome of raid and rescues is to provide children with release certificates that they are entitled to by law, and which guarantee a rehabilitation grant, a free accommodation fund, as well as a life long social security pension of INR 150 per month. For example, as a result of *Liberation Education* actions, a local state court ordered INR 6.8 million as compensation to the released bonded workers from the stone

quarry of Bhiwani, under the Minimum Wages Act of 1948. (Organization Document, Annual Report) . In addition they report that education scholarships were given to 700 children rescued from the Bidi sector and the inspecting powers of the government officials in Uttar Pradesh were restored and re-enforced . My field visits support the finding that the *Liberation Education* staff were able to help children gain the compensation to which they were entitled.

> *In one village I met with six young men, all with a history of being enslaved and all former students of Liberation Education Program. Each had been assisted in getting compensation. Two of the young men bought pieces of adjoining land and were starting farms. Two other men had started small tailoring businesses and one of them proudly told me he now made enough money from his business that he could now think of getting married. (*Field notes, July 29,2005*)*

Interviews with staff indicated the extent to which they are actively working to ensure regulations are upheld.

> *I just helped get 5 children their support. I have a list of 35 people now that are eligible. I will go soon to make sure they know about what they are entitled to. Then I go with them to the district officials to make a claim. We sometimes work with the children's parents. One problem is that when a child is released , they might not get a certificate so the schemes aren't available. So I argue that it isn't our mistake, it isn't the children's mistake. The government must correct it. In December I got the lists of all the children released and have made the list of all the children who are entitled to government assistance. I went one time and they asked for a bribe so I made a complaint at the district office. Now I am known in*

*the communities. I don't have to go ask them about their problems. They come to me now. (*Interview, Liberation Education staff, 2005*)*

In addition, it is important to note that *Liberation Education* takes a very inclusive approach and work with all children from all religious faiths, classes, and minority groups to support and provide protection without discrimination.

However, working within the regulatory structures is not sufficient to produce the change needed. *Liberation Education* staff found that children returned to their communities and their lives did not necessarily improve nor was there a decrease in the number of enslaved children.

*We realized that we had to do something more than just releasing or rescuing, so we went for consumer sensitization. All the production key is held in the hands of consumers ... and consumers can really make a difference so we went with [a focus on] consumer awareness. (*Interview, *Liberation Education staff*, 2005*)*

Consumer Sensitization: Working with Normative Structures

First we started in the carpet industry. It really made a difference. Lots of consumers started demanding that they don't want to buy goods that are made with the sweat and blood of the children and they asked for alternatives. We were against the boycott of any product; boycott can never lead to anything; it's a negative approach. So we wanted to start with a sort of social labeling system. Then we could make sure that this particular product was not made with the use of any child labour in any part of its production. Gradually this consumer awareness

has put lots of pressure on industry, our government and even international bodies became empowered. The ILO, UNICEF, we all sat together and we came up with the 'Rugmark Labeling System'. (Interview, *Liberation Education staff*, 2004)

The Rugmark fair-trade system was an innovative initiative with the potential to act as a tool to educate consumers and to protect children. While it continues to be used, particularly in Europe, *Liberation Education* staff expressed dismay that consumers seemed unconcerned about the production of their goods and the exploitation of children in this production. This response led to a deepening of the staff's analysis of what caused the exploitation of children.

We have tried to raise other questions [about consumer issues] but they have not been successful in the sense that actually the child labour problem is not only just economic, it has social dimensions. That we realized later on - lots of things we realized in the due course of our work - a problem in seeing child labour as only the cause of children's exploitation; it is actually the symptom of other problems and it is a result of it. Child labour and poverty can be perceived as the cause of other problems, but I perceive them - what I have experience - poverty is not the problem, it is the symptom. If the father is unemployed and not been able to get a job naturally the family will remain poor; you can't say it's caused by poverty ; it's a question of the father not getting a job; if the people [are] being underpaid, paid unfairly they will remain poor; if the family doesn't have enough money then naturally they will turn to their children and send their children to work because

children are in demand. We have so many people unemployed and on the other hand we have so many children - 249 million children working as child laborers; and they're not working just for 8 or 9 hours they work 13 to 16 hours. So if you calculate how much they are working it comes out to 500 days per year and for parents we cannot provide a 100 days job! (Interview, *Liberation Education* staff, 2004)

The staff decided that while raids and rescues must continue along with some efforts to communicate to consumers and policy makers, it was clear that the foundational ideas, values, and norms that existed locally, nationally, and internationally needed to be addressed if there was to be any real possibility of disrupting child slavery. The starting point for *Liberation Education* would be working with the former child slaves in an educational setting.

Actually what we have done is step by step and we have learned. We started with rescue operations and nothing moved, then consumer sensitization and that has made a little difference for industry and everyone else who came forward. Then we went for the establishment of transitory rehabilitation centre because we felt unless we train these children, unless these victims themselves become the leaders and the spokesperson, we cannot make much difference. (Interview, *Liberation Education* staff, 2004)

The Liberation Education Program: Shifting Cognitive Structures

When the education program at *Liberation Education* was established, there were basically three main goals:

(1) Restoration of childhood:

> *Here children are given a chance to live as children. Special physical and psychological care is given by experienced staff but the best care is provided by children to children in the interaction as friends coming from similar backgrounds.* (Personal communication, 2005)

(2) Orientation to education:

> *Most of the children coming to Liberation Education have never attended school and in many cases they are the first ones in families to be given opportunity to hold books and pencils in their hands. Here children are trained so that they could be well accommodated into the mainstream schools in their villages.* (Personal communication, 2005)

(3) Prevention of child labour:

> *Liberation Education is a place where many policies and political changes have taken place. Interaction with visitors and leaders gives children confidence to become leaders in their own right and after returning to their communities, the children become advocates for others.* (Personal communication, 2005).

My visits to the school indicated that the outcomes of the education were much more than what is captured in these goals; students presented themselves as eager, happy, and socially outgoing which, given their previous exploitation, seemed quite remarkable.

Dutta (2005) also observed that students were very successful at the *Liberation Education* program:

> The majority of the children interviewed by the evaluator in the [Liberation Education Program] indicated self-confidence, leadership quality and positive thinking. In many cases these children fared far better in school exams as compared to other local children of the area. Free intermingling of the children with the other local children is encouraged to create self-confidence and erase the concept of social discrimination. The timetable in the centre is oriented to create independence and high dignity for work (p. 49)

Clearly, this education program was transformational for the students in several ways.

Becoming Human: Children's First Days at Liberation Education

The following comments from *Liberation Education staff* describe the process that children go through in the first few days and weeks:

> *After the liberation when children first come to the program, they are generally very scared. Their future hopes are devoid of any beautiful feelings and they are used to doing as they are ordered. They lack any reading, writing or counting skills. When they first enter the program, most of them are even scared to look up and are very apprehensive towards their future. They also lose their analyzing skills while working and generally are just used to taking orders.* (Staff writing, personal communication, 2005)
>
> *They have the experience but also, that kind of awareness has been put in their mind that ' you belong to that particular community, so it's your fate. Nothing can change, life is like that'. And they themselves have had the experience - no*

exposure, no education , so naturally they have that mindset, so for them it is an accepted phenomenon. They can't think beyond that. So we have to bring that dream in them. Make them feel like they also are human beings like others, same fundamental rights. They think only others have rights, but [they] are not able to speak on it because [they] are not aware of it. (Interview, *Liberation Education staff*, 2004)

The lives of the children are devoid of good and happy memories and they never had any real childhood. Some of the children from Bihar stated that they had never eaten so many vegetables in their whole life. Their physique showed weak stature and mentally also they are tired. Their eyes lack luster and most of them are afraid to state their feelings. Many children suffer from skin diseases like scabies, night blindness due to working long hours in dim light, and also from tuberculosis from working in the unhygienic conditions with various yarns. Children working [in the] agriculture sector suffer from tuberculosis due to the various insecticides use. Skin burns and malnutrition are very common in glass and fire cracker industry. Scars on the skin are generally a common sight, stating their sorry affairs and plight. No medical aid is provided to the working child. A working child is treated as inanimate object. (Personal communication, 2005)

Children are very afraid when they come here. They don't even talk when they come here. We slowly start playing with them and talking with them and ask about them and their past. We ask about the behaviour of their employer and always

*listen, so they start to open up with us. (*Interview, *Liberation Education* staff, 2005*)*

*Slowly, staying here, moulds children and breaks their mental blockage. They start feeling the sense of real childhood and as a consequence start responding in that manner. They break the myth that they are different than the other children. Their ability to learn, adapt to the new environment, their curiosity, their smiles all are the strengths in the children. Earlier they are doing what they are told but now they start reacting to things, they start managing the small set ups of the program; they start taking part in day to day activities; their spirit of competition rises and, their confidence grows. With the activities here, they also realize that they should help other children trapped in slavery or bondage like conditions. Many children take up the task of social activists and help making parents aware about how children are getting entrapped in the bondage. (*Interview, *Liberation Education staff*, 2005)*

We have the children explain their own stories in order to build a group cohesiveness. Because the way they have been tortured they believe that "it is me, I have done something wrong and that is why I have suffered." When they hear the story of other children's exploitation then they understand that something is wrong. There is something wrong that makes us suffer and it is something wrong in the system. They may not understand what part of the system but they know. .. a boy from Bihar and suffers and one from Rajasthan works in a different industry but

*still suffers, both have the same experience. (*Interview, *Liberation Education staff*, 2004*)*

As the confidence and awareness grow, relationships become more real and, of course, involve conflicts. It was very interesting to watch the staff and children deal with conflict and my observations and staff interviews indicate that conflict is approached as a normal part of human relations. There is space for conflict and there are mechanisms in place to deal with it.

> *The conflicts in the children occur if somebody takes the other's personal belongings or the things provided by the program. They start putting personal marks on their things. Sometimes when the elder boys bully the smaller children, of if some child teases the other child over the playing materials or other things, conflict occurs. Generally the conflict with the staff does not occur. It occurs if the child loses their things given by the program again and again or if some child behaves over aggressively with others. Sometimes when special attention is given to some children who needs extra counseling, then also the other children start complaining that particular child is more lovable to staff. Few children become aggressive and beat the other children. All the problems get sorted out with the joint session with the staff and the children. Sometimes older children help resolve the matter with new children. The children listen to the reasoning given and resolve it within a few moments. The children are encouraged to give out their own reasoning and resolve the conflicts and set their own rules. (*Interview, *Liberation Education staff*, 2005)

My field notes indicate how this approach to conflict resolution works.

Today, after a group of local dignitaries had visited the centre, I sat with the staff visiting while the children played nearby. It had been a long day and everyone was tired but happy because the program the children had planned went off smoothly and they had successfully presented their messages about children's rights and the exploitation of children. The visitors had brought along some toys and sports equipment and the children were busy playing. At one point two boys had a conflict that ended up with one hitting the other with a stick It was very interesting to watch the staff who, in my "former school principal" eyes, seemed to not react to what was a serious situation. The boy who had been hit was offered a cold cloth and some affection; the boy who hit him stood by and quietly watched. Then the two of them went off without much of anything directive from the staff. I saw later that the two boys went off to work things out with the other children according to the "discipline committee" (run by the children). The staff told me that the children would come and see them if they needed help. What was so outstanding was that the children all knew exactly what to do and the staff had complete confidence that the children would be capable of handling the situation. (Field notes, August 3, 2005)

Clearly, *Liberation Education* provided much more than basic necessities to these children.

Becoming Educated: Shifting Identity from Worker to Citizen

I use questions of education. I ask how about education. Is education important? They say no education is not important because so many people don't have jobs so what is the point of us learning? Then I say, what is your employer's children

doing while you were working? They were going to school. Then I say, did he want his children to go to work? Did he want them to go to work? They say, no he wanted them to learn. Then they understand. The employer sends his children to school because he wants them to learn, not because he wants them to be a slave. If you learn things then you might rebel. [The employer or master] always wants you to be confined there, you will think it's your fate, that it's your life. (Interview, Liberation Education staff, 2004)

When the children are ready, they meet with *Liberation Education* staff to make an education plan. They are asked to identify the things that interest them, which for these children is a completely new experience. The staff works with the student to develop a holistic plan that includes literacy skills, vocational skills, and for those who are ready, community engagement in local schools and neighborhoods. In addition, all students are part of the social education program.

We feel that the freed child slaves must get some sort of training to overcome his or her traumatic experience. They must be provided all the skills so that they can stand on their own feet. The freed laborer needs training to understand the social laws, his or her duties and the laws of the government and above all, have some sort of basic education. He or she must understand why and how he was made bonded in the first place and must try to uplift such situation. He must also create awareness for other people to avoid such situations by educating the society so that the root cause of the problem can be abolished. So in the program we try to provide them non-formal education, social education and some vocational skills to the children above 14 years. We generally find that their intellectual abilities are like

*any other children. Given opportunities to learn , they could learn and do things like any other children. (*Personal communication, 2005*)*

Staff recognize that these children arrive needing to have social experiences that will help them build confidence and understand how they will engage with others.

*Children coming to Liberation Education program are mainly dalit, belonging to low castes, and here we aim to empower these children through interactive discussion, social discussions, and also by having them participate in the campaigning activities to share experience and express their views. (*Personal communication, 2005*)*

Initially the children do not differentiate much between the right and wrong. They follow everything blindly and generally do whatever they are told to do. They are always under dictatorship first by parents and then by employer. So it is difficult for them to understand the concept of right and wrong. (Interview, *Liberation Education staff*, 2005)

We give them instructions about the rules of the program. Then we set up the committees. They decide themselves who should be in each group. The children are divided into groups: one is the food committee; one on cleaning; one is about social things, and so on. A joint meeting is conducted and the working of the committees is decided on. Then there is a leader chosen for each committee and they are trained in how to have meetings. We talk to them often about the working

of the committees. And if there are any problems they are dealt with. (Interview, *Liberation Education staff*, 2005)

In the social education class we go for discussions, debates, whatever questions are coming into their minds. Then I make them realize later those things with their daily human lives, like discrimination. In India we have the caste system and discrimination is there. I just leave the question with them. In India in the village we have the system ... in the village the upper caste might live on the north side and eastern side, but the lower caste children will live on the south side. Because of the upper caste feel that the wind shouldn't pass to me over them, and they shouldn't do things with them, eat with them, like sit with them, or they are not allowed to wear shoes. So I will ask [the children] the question: How do you like that? How do you feel about it? Some children will say its ok because it's my fate. Others feel bad because the upper caste people don't wash their dishes but we have to wash our dishes and then we clean theirs too. They don't talk to us, they don't give us respect. I ask "Then if you don't like it why don't you speak out? They say no we can not, we are powerless, it is our fate, no one will support us. OK then I say, how do you make your earnings? We work in the fields . I said OK so how do you do this? We do it with our own hands? How? We put the seeds in ? I ask do you do that with your hands, do you use your hands or something else? What else happens? After it grows then we harvest the plants. You do this on your own or someone else helps? They say, no we do it on our own. What then? We put the seeds in bags. Then who eats it? They say they do.. naturally they do .What kind of

question is that? So I say, they are not asking you to eat. You are using your hands. You are the socially deprived person. You are the low caste people and they are eating. Can't you think about it? I just leave the question with them. I don't say anything and they think about it over night. They come in the morning and say "Yah, we didn't realize it". I say this is the thing. They make you do all sorts of things and labour and when it comes to share with you they say no, you are low caste, you are not equal to us, this is the thing to realize. With other things, too, like who makes the cloth? All these things I use to help them discuss and that has started to bring about change. Then I ask what difference do you find with you and your employer? How many eyes does he have? Funny questions that make them laugh. How many eyes in you and him? Are they on the face or on the back? How about the brain? Oh we have one head all of us. Have you ever seen the color of the blood? Right then we talk of discrimination. They say it's nature and I say 'no if nature wanted to make you different then you would be made in a different way, like the animals, .like the elephant is made different'. They ask about skin color and I explain about climate. These are type of things that I use. (Interview, *Liberation Education staff*, 2004)

The aim is to provide experiences that will help children develop the skills and attitudes that will allow them to take their place as citizens in their communities. By engaging with global initiatives, these students develop not only a sense of their own rights and citizenship, but also that of others locally, nationally and globally.

The children are empowered with various skills so as to be incorporated in the mainstream of society. These include nonformal education so that the children could get reading writing, skills. Children learn reading, writing and elementary arithmetic besides learning about the environment, other science studies. These skills help the children to be incorporated in the schools at their local level. Vocational skills are taught to the children above 14 years old so they can be financially independent. Vocational skills include motor winding, tailoring, welding, the trades that would help them at the community level. In the social class, information about various social topics including stratification of society, human evolution, caste system, atrocities within our society, as long with topics like poverty, gender discrimination etc. Children also learn about society and political systems; how child labour gets perpetuated; how they can tackle the problem at the community level. Various tools like plays, drawing, interactive workshops, etc., are used for this. Children also participate in various campaigns and marches to help them gain confidence. These include national marches from Bihar to New Delhi, Calcutta to Katmandu, National level march, Global March Against Child Labor and Shikshar Yatra (Education March). All these activities help to prepare them to stand against injustice and exploitation. Many of the children have used their experience in campaigning to mobilize their own communities. (Personal communication, 2005).

There was one little girl who was 7 years old. She was a bonded laborer and her family for many generations were bonded laborers. When she arrived here, I gave

*her a banana and she had never seen one before. Her family had lived in the stone quarry for so many generations and they never were allowed out. When this child came here she was given a guava. She had never seen one. When she tasted it, she said, 'Didi, I have never tasted a potato so sweet'. She had never eaten anything but potatoes so she thought it was a sweet potato When the child was given a banana she tried to eat the skin. We taught her things slowly. Everything was new... cars, motor bike, food, buildings. After awhile she started reading and writing. She began to dance. She gave very good speeches and made very good slogans. We observed her learning and saw her abilities. She did everything well. Her cognitive level was that of an older person. She could make her own decisions. She could understand other people in a way much beyond her age level. When she left, we did a follow-up meeting and she continued to school and they put her in level 2 (advanced). During the meeting with her teachers in the village we asked the teachers how she was doing and asked that they follow up on this case and make sure she was able to continue to go to school. Her family had no experience with school. When she went back to the village, she told her father "don't drink alcohol". She told her parents that literacy was very important and that her sister should also get a chance to go to school too. She used to stop and pick up other children on her way to school and take them with her. She would hold the other children and take them to school. (*Interview, *Liberation Education staff*, 2005*)*

Amiya was very exploited before she came here. She was very violent and very negative. She would get violent and hit the other children. So all of the other

children were against her. Slowly she learned that that was not the way to behave. She saw the other children and saw that she should change. I tried to understand what is the reason behind her behavior. I told her if you want your life to be a good one then you are to choose the way. Her mother left her and her siblings on the street. So I said, if your mother is gone, she is gone. That doesn't mean you have to ruin your life. I told her if you need a mother, I am here. She feels that she has no one to love and no one loves her. So we make her understand that she is not alone, she doesn't have to be alone. (Interview, *Liberation Education staff*, 2005)

Becoming Leaders: Linking New Identity with Agency

We give them instructions about the rules of the program. Then we set up the committees. They decide themselves who should be in each group. The children are divided into groups: one is the food committee; one on cleaning; one is about social things, and so on. A joint meeting is conducted and the working of the committees is decided on. Then there is a leader chosen for each committee and they are trained in how to have meetings. We talk to them often about the working of the committees. And if there are any problems they are dealt with. (Interview, Liberation Education staff, 2005)

Liberation Education means total liberation. It includes more; it is not just physically because they are physically liberated according to law. But mentally they need to be liberated- mentally and spiritually. They have to have that confidence of human beings like others. 'I am not inferior to anybody and all the laws and constitutions are my protectors but I only need to learn how to use them;

how to ensure my own rights'. So to build that self confidence was very important and to make them leaders of their own community; that was the biggest challenge to us. (Interview, *Liberation Education staff*, 2004)

My goal was to make them big leaders, spokespersons, it's not me that should go around and talk to the people all the time. We cannot do this for the children unless they themselves come out. (Interview, *Liberation Education staff*, 2005)

[We] introduce them to the people who come, and I take them to speak to the politicians. They are nothing different. I teach they can always talk. They say, no that's the prime minister I can't and I say, no, we elected them. I begin the conversation and then they begin to speak. So the shyness and fearfulness which they have in their mind.. "we can't speak".. leaves their minds. Then we get them involved in the programs like marches. (Interview, *Liberation Education staff*, 2005)

Students also participate in "The *Liberation Education* Caravan" an innovative approach to activism. It is a "cultural campaign on wheels run by liberated former child labourers rehabilitated and trained [in leadership] enhancing their potential to fight against the menace of child labour" (Organization document, n.d., p. 2)

Today I attended the leadership class that looked at a follow-up to the earlier Global Campaign for Education events. The teachers gathered the children in the

hall. They reviewed the actions that had taken place in April during the Global Action Week, including visiting MPs, street theatre, public demonstrations, school visits, letter writing, getting signatures on petitions, and lobbying on the "Send my Friend to School" theme. The objective of today's workshop was to have students write MPs to further enforce the promises they made during the April campaign. Students were first engaged in role plays to provide practice in what to ask for from the MPs. Students formed groups to work together to write letter, provide feedback to each other and then revise the letters. The plan is to send 50 000 copies of these letters to MPs and bureaucrats. (Field notes, July 26, 2005)

I returned today from my village visits, and it seems the letter writing campaign that started last week has been very successful. After the workshop, staff and students got busy. So far 3,500 cards have been signed by local school children and adults. The children visited local schools to get the signatures. They expect to get an additional 10,000 this week. I was a bit skeptical when they discussed this last week, but the work and network of this organization continues to amaze me. I also found out today that the children are very excited about the campaign and didn't just want to send letters; they are now creating a big display with posters, pictures etc. (Field notes, August 3, 2005).

Becoming Liberators: Returning to the Village

We have [a minimum of] six months to empower them and to link them to their village because ultimately they have to do it for themselves. About a month before they will return, we begin to bring them mentally to their village. They have to go

for meditation. We say: 'You have changed your life, imagine your life what you are doing and think about what you are doing and think of the children that still need your help. How you alone can bring the changes to the children. Think about how you want the community to go?' There are four or five steps. For a whole month we work with them. Then at the last we ask, 'It is now your choice Do you want to live for yourself or do you want to live for others? It is we who will make a difference nobody else will do it. Even God also helps those who help themselves. God doesn't come and give you the food. It's we who have to do it. It's we who have to bring social justice to the community. Sometimes I give them an example - imagine a man who is a criminal who is powerful and everyone is scared. This first time he steals he has no opposition. That brings him control. Then he does it again and there is no opposition and he feels he is great and everyone should do as he says. Just imagine that you all joins hands together, even if you are skinny, or little children, even if he is powerful, if you all join together do you think he can beat you, can he crush you? They say, no he can not, if we all join hands! I say, of course, for all the problems you all need to join together and fight for it; only then can we bring the change. Things can be changed and they need to be changed. Keep on going. (Interview, *Liberation Education staff*, 2005)

The local [Liberation Education] activists keep close track of the trainees graduated from the program. Many of them have become economically independent with the help of vocational skills learned in the program and are also helping the community by teaching their skills to the others. Some of the children

have become activists and are fighting against child labour and educating their communities on the risks of child labour and the benefit of education. For the issue of education, we had various campaigns where program children participated. As part of the Education March, children traveled from one end of the country to the other. On the morning before the deliberation of the constitutional amendment, children went from door to door at homes of Members of Parliament to persuade them to pass the bill to make education their right. We have also taken out numerous marches to make the public aware about the menace of child labour. The biggest one was the Global March Against Child Labour where children of the program traveled on world wide marches in 1998 to mobilize millions to fight against child labour, as members of the core marchers who traveled through an 80, 000 km journey. By this, children have brought direct policy changes on issues of child labour. We also have examples of children where, through their own efforts, have brought changes in the wages of the people working in the agriculture sector. (Personal communication, 2005)

In July 2005, I met 25 young men who were former child slaves and also graduates of the Liberation Education program. They were brought together as part of the ongoing program to build leadership capacity at the village level. These young men met for 5 days to discuss the current and changing issues related to child labour in their communities. This program not only provides support for former students after they have left the program, but provides Liberation Education with very current information on the changes in the field. A grassroots network of former

students exists across much of northern India as well as other regions of South East Asia. They indicated that the things they learned at Liberation Education that were most helpful were literacy, understanding of human rights, about how to understand the laws that affect them, and how to work in the community. One person described to me how he had learned how to speak to other people at Liberation Education and in his community he now speaks with parents who are not used to sending their children to school. Another young man talked about how he felt the exploitation had stopped in his life and that he now knew how to ask for what he needed; he knew how to ask for his rights. All the workshop participants agreed they missed Liberation Education when they left and had some difficulty finding support in their home communities and they continue to be strongly connected to other students they met here. Many of the participants expressed strong aspirations for making their community a better place as well as a better place for all children. There was a sincere understanding and sense of connection with others in what I would describe as an understanding of global citizenship.
(Field notes, August 3, 2005)

The *Liberation Education* program takes an approach to education that transforms the lives and life possibilities of children who have been rescued from slavery. From the moment children enter *Liberation Education* they are surrounded by people who genuinely care for them, understand their past, and perhaps most importantly, the staff also believe that these children can become masters of their own lives. By engaging children in understanding their experiences as structural violence caused by an unjust

system, the children gain confidence in their own skills. This confidence is then nested in a deep sense of community; students learn that their healing, their education and their future are social processes that they have a right and responsibility to be engaged in.

The Child Friendly Village Program: Preventing Child Slavery by Working with Regulative, Normative and Cognitive Institutional Structures

> *The emancipation of children who have been abused in exploitive work lies in changing the mindset, behaviour, and priorities of the village community (Bal Mitra Gram Policy Statement, 2005)*

Liberation Education aims to create a child friendly, child-slave-free, society through education, rehabilitation and Bal Mitra Gram, or Child Friendly Village in English, programs. The Bal Mitra Gram (BMG) concept was adopted in 2000 as part of a way to make villages and wards in India child labour free. Since 2002, 89 villages have been part of the BMG program (Organization Document, Annual Report) .The particular villages chosen as sites for the program have current conditions that make exploitive child labour and child slavery particularly prevalent. These conditions include a history of child slavery, economic vulnerability, as well as social and cultural conditions that create a particularly vulnerable group of marginalized people who suffer discrimination. This discrimination is usually based on caste, religion, class and gender. The key targets of the BMG program are:

(1) having at least 90% of village girls in BMG activities; (2) evidence that the program developed in a holistic manner; (3) BMG program becomes self-reliant and sustainable by the community; (4) government departments showed support; (5) villagers were able to access the benefits of government schemes that they were entitled to; (6) other NGOs became partners; (7) capacity building workshops were organized; and (8) there is evidence that the government mechanisms are more responsive to local needs. (Personal communication, 2005)

The process of becoming "child friendly" has four phases:[4]

1. Elimination and withdrawal of child labour from the village

During this stage, community members, including children, are engaged in a social mapping project that helps to identify who the children are in the village and where they are. As this participatory mapping process proceeds, very important discussions take place regarding child labour, children's human rights and the right to education and issues of equity, discrimination and justice. The program leaders take an activist position and begin to bring more and more people "to the table" including those who have traditionally been marginalized by caste, class, gender, age or ability. These inclusive discussions lead to a defining of what the particular village would look like if it were "child friendly". To assist in this process a human rights framework is introduced and becomes helpful as a tool and a language with which to identify and discuss local issues. The community identifies which children are "missing" due to being taken for exploitive labour through kidnapping, sale, or parental permission, and alternatives to

[4] Data on the Bal Mitra Gram project is taken from the article *Human rights education and contemporary child slavery: creating child friendly villages when states, communities and families fail to protect,* published in Abdi & Shultz (forthcoming). *Educating for human rights and global citizenship.* Albany, NY: Suny Press

child labour are developed. This leads to the second phase, "enrollment of all children in school".

2. Enrollment of all children in school

In relation to non-poor children, the benefits of schooling are seldom debated. Most middle and upper class children everywhere in the world experience expectations that they will become educated and there is corresponding pressure on school systems to provide quality education to these children. However, for poor children, there continues to be a question of whether education is a secondary concern after finding employment. In the BMG project, there is no distinction between the right to education for rich or poor and the benefits of education are promoted to all parents and community members. The second stage of BMG involves working with the formal school sector and non-formal education providers in new ways. Inclusive community meetings, facilitated initially by BMG leaders, become places where deliberation and dialogue take place. It is clear that these are new processes and many school staff members discuss how they had never before been invited to community meetings. The BMG process engages children, teachers and community members in discussions about the quality and organization of the school program. Often the local school had not taken advantage of current government schemes initiated to improve the quality of education programming. Through community discussions, information regarding government schemes and community expectations were aired openly. In most cases, educators felt no responsibility for children who were not attending and most felt that this was a parental responsibility. However, because the BMG process engages the wider community in supporting children's participation in school, the pressure to send children to school

starts to come from many places including neighbours, the school, other children, and other local community members. Often this pressure is the first that some parents have felt to send their children to school rather than to work.

> *I didn't know. Now I understand that MY children can also go to school. (Informal conversation with parent in BMG village, 2004).*

When I spoke with community members about their community after participating in BMG, they felt very strongly that they needed to promote their community as one where all children attend school. As a result they would challenge children out of school or parents who were not sending their children. This new norm of inclusivity that created a shared responsibility for education was evident throughout the BMG communities I visited. Community schemes were established to help extremely poor families to recover the money that children would have been earning had they been working, often only 2 or 3 rupees per day. Accessing government funds for free school midday meals also helped as the money children would have earned often was just enough to pay for their food. For those children vulnerable to being sent into slavery, their families no longer needed to worry about the cost of education and the cost of the main meal of the day and so one of the "push factors" for selling children was eliminated.

In the Dutta (2006) study, 150 communities, both BMG and non-BMG, were surveyed and the results indicate a large proportion of children aged 6-14 years were working in non-BMGs as compared to BMGs. In addition, the proportion of children attending schools was significantly higher in BMGs as compared to non-BMGs. Dutta described the impact of the BMG program as "phenomenal in encouraging parents and

children to enroll children in schools." (p. 57) and a total of 11 562 children in BMG villages in nine Indian states were enrolled for the first time during 2002-05 (p. 55).

As the BMG model became more established, community involvement resulted in other educational initiatives such as working with the schools to provide locally created materials in the village language, support for vocational education based on the local economic context, and training in environmental education initiatives (Field notes, 2005).

3. Establishment of the Bal Panchayat (Children's Assembly)

This part of the program is founded on a belief that right from childhood, children are capable of making decisions and taking leadership in the issues that affect them. Through the Children's Assembly, children learn the processes of democratic decisionmaking, citizenship engagement and social action. All children in the community are involved and there is particular pressure from children for village wide attendance including those traditionally marginalized (at least in the adult world) by caste, class, religion or gender. The children become engaged in the real issues of their community and are trained in group processes that reflect democratic and human rights, and in engaged citizenship activities such as lobbying, public speaking, and making group decisions. These activities begin around the issues of abusive child labour and are initiated by BMG leaders, but quickly, as the children learn how to have a voice, the children themselves begin to take the lead in addressing the many issues of their communities. The BMG leaders continue to assist the children in accessing the information they need, such as current government policy, and the children soon learn valuable research skills. While the issues are often related to school experiences, in

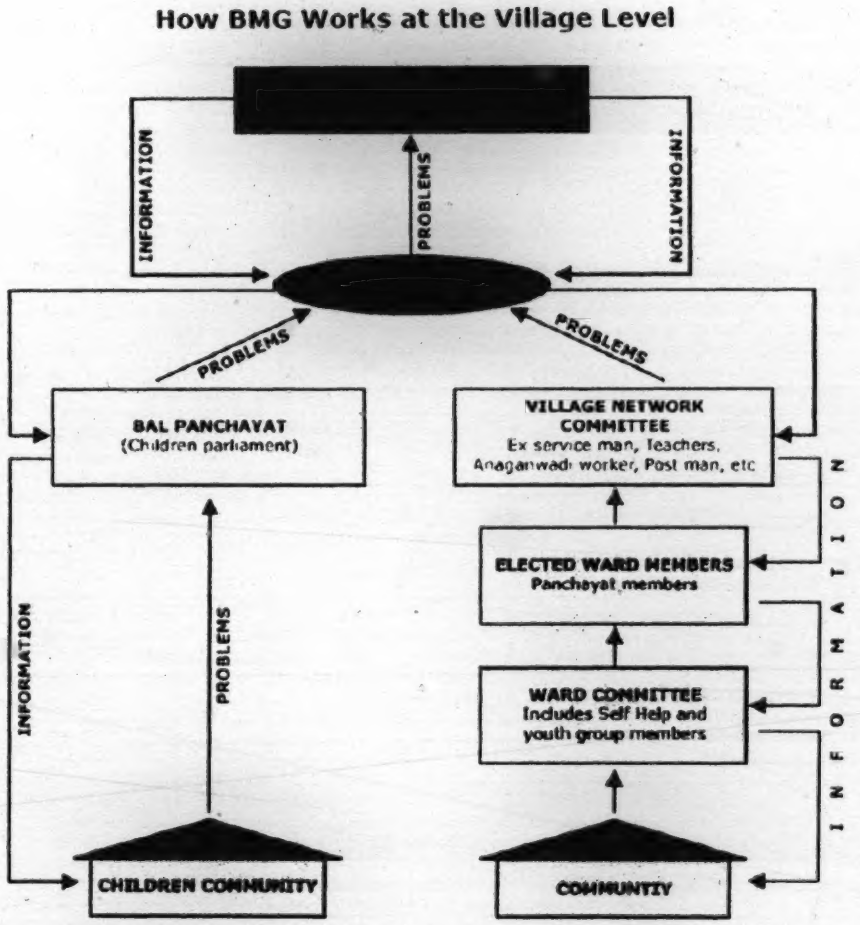
several villages that I visited, the Children's Assembly was responsible for getting good water, improved toilets and safe places to play for the school and village children. In one case, the Children's Assembly was responsible for holding head teachers accountable for money collected for school fees when these were to have been eliminated. In another school, the children's parliament challenged the school head who had taken the school TV and VCR to his home rather than deliver it to the school. The students do not stop at the school, but continue to bring forward issues from the community. The following are some of the questions raised at Children Assembly meetings:

> *Why is there no bridge across the river for children to cross safely to get to school?*
>
> *Why is there no boundary around the electrical generator near the playground?*
>
> *Why are the children of[this family] not in school?*
>
> *Why do these children not have enough food? (Interviews and field notes, 2005)*

Children are very involved in initiatives to end child labour and to improve the quality of education and have the opportunity to engage with children from other villages and at a national level. The ability and resourcefulness of children in examining these issues becomes a precedent for engagement in other issues in the community.

4. Bal Panchayat becomes part of the formal governance structure of the community

During the final stage of becoming "child friendly", the children's assembly becomes a formal part of the governance structure of the community. The goal is to have the Bal Panchayat members as regular and full participants in local meetings and to have their ideas taken seriously. The following organization diagram shows the model that is the basis of this program:



Source: Organization Document, Annual Report

There is also an annual meeting of members of all BMG children's assemblies and the Indian National parliament. At this meeting, children are able to present their concerns to the Prime Minister and MPs and to engage in dialogue and debate about important issues. The participation of the children brings the framework and the language of human rights into the governance of the village affairs. In BMG villages, it is quite

reasonable to hear issues being discussed using human rights language to frame and claim participation, access and distribution.

> *Due to discrimination, extreme poverty, inappropriate development schemes, children are not provided the necessary skills and knowledge they need for community life. Until and unless a child is politically, socially and economically secure in his/her environment, talking of child protection is meaningless, and for that reason these issues need to be collectively addressed and made into a mass movement amongst the local people (*Community organizer, 2004*).*

The child friendly village program transforms many established ideas and practices within village life and seeks to position children as citizens with full rights. Children are engaged very actively and authentically in understanding and acting on their social, moral, political and economic context. They learn in a very participatory way, about the context, their position within it and how change happens. As a human rights based initiative, process matters; it is not just about creating laws, or enforcement, but how the process of inclusive dialogue and participation based on a universal understanding of human dignity, takes place. Children are generally excluded from participating in the social and political working of communities in any real way, so the BMG model provides an example of a very different role for children.

Conclusions: Working for Change Across Institutional Structures

The work of the *Liberation Education* organization began by working with the regulations that are in place to protect children against slavery. It was clear that although it is imperative to have adequate laws in place, real change will happen only when these

laws are enforced and upheld from the individual to the international level. The work at *Liberation Education* shows that it takes an integrated approach to create the change that is necessary to protect children. This integration involves regulative changes, normative changes and cognitive changes.

Human Rights and Children

A foundational norm shift enacted at the *Liberation Education* program was in the area of the human rights of children. Some other programs described their work as "rights based" while continuing to envelop rights in a traditional needs approach, for example, by considering children working to respond to the economic needs of their parents as 'children's right to work'. The human rights approach at *Liberation Education* was grounded in a strong understanding of human rights as universal and inalienable (cf.UN, 1998). A staff memo identifies the depth of this approach:

> *Every child should have a right to healthy and nutritious food, play and education. Every child should have an identity of his or her own and love, care and affection should be given to every child. Child labour should be banned and instead parents or elder siblings above 14 years of age should be given work. Every child should be given social and emotional security. The society should be made aware that it is a myth that the poor child is born to work and cannot study. It is as myth that if a child does not work, then he will not survive. It should be stressed that work has to be provided to the parents or elders of the family and that too should be given with minimum wages. Every child should have access to free and compulsory education.* (Personal communication, 2005)

Challenging Embedded Discrimination

[In India] if a lower caste man offers water to an upper caste man he won't take it. A higher caste man is not to take water from a lower caste man. What we teach is there is no difference. We drink the water offered by all children. We make no distinction. We don't even ask about what caste. We just assume a child to be a child. And we ask the children to teach their people, their family, about what [they] are learning here; how here you were together, how you cooked together, how you ate together here. (Interview, *Liberation Education staff*, 2005)

The most obvious source of discrimination in India is the caste system a form of racism, (cf. Kapoor, forthcoming) but gender and class distinctions are also very powerful sources of exclusion. At *Liberation Education*, children and staff are engaged in ongoing critical discussions about their experiences and are encouraged to think of these experiences in terms of structural and systemic violence. Therefore, discrimination is named very clearly and the children as well as staff are expected to reflect on their own ways of discriminating against others and to make changes that would allow for equitable treatment of others.

Throughout their life they have been discriminated against for the caste and class they were born into. It is unimaginable for them to feel that they could be treated as equals. If they wanted something, they snatch it from the other children. They also agree in their perception that they belong to the lower class and they have to obey the orders. The most common dilemma is about their caste system. [At the program] they are encouraged to think that they are equal to everyone. They are encouraged to sit on the chair in front of the staff. They staff and children eat

together using same utensil, entering the same kitchen, holding hands together, playing, dancing together. These practical experiences are a breakthrough of the general practices experience by them earlier. They are encouraged to study here while in the earlier life they were never. In their own villages they are not even allowed to draw water from the same well the higher class people were using. Their temples were separate. They celebrated their festival separately. Here when we celebrate festival together, they realize that they are human beings also with some rights and accept such things in a very happy manner. (Personal communication, 2005)

Beyond Patrimony

Patrimony holds much of the discrimination against children in place. At *Liberation Education*, children are taught about their rights in a manner that engages them in enacting these rights for themselves and for others. It is not just the national and international communities that have failed these children; these children's families and communities have also failed to protect them. By presenting human rights as universal and inalienable, and teaching this by enacting it, the *Liberation Education program* shifts children's understandings of their own individual humanness. *Liberation Education* also engages children in a social process of education that makes it clear rights are also social obligations that we hold for all others. *Liberation Education* students know very clearly that they are bearers of both rights and duties.

Poverty and Child Labour

The *Liberation Education program* makes a strong statement against the established understandings that poverty is the cause of child labour. It is this

understanding that leads many organizations to support child labour by either turning a blind eye or by pressuring governments to move to "children's right to work" legislation.

Making Children Visible

The *Liberation Education* program and the BMG program break the silence on child slavery. Former children slaves become leaders in their communities and engage local communities in talking openly about the exploitation of children. As *Liberation Education* students they speak directly about their experiences with politicians and other local leaders, with local students and community members and with international guests. These experiences reinforce the program's approach to education as a tool for liberation.

When local communities participate in the stages of becoming "child friendly", it becomes acceptable for children, parents and community members to speak about the impact of exploitive labour on their children, families and community as a whole. The culture of silence around slavery plays a part in perpetuating its practice. Parents, many already marginalized by poverty and discrimination, feel they have no place and no voice to complain. Many are embarrassed by their situation and feel hopeless in making any change. By beginning the BMG process around the issue of exploitive child labour and openly presenting child labour as an unacceptable practice the issue is opened not only for discussion but for action.

> ***The panchayat and the people have been given the collective right to make schemes for economic development and social justice. This law gives the villagers an opportunity to make their village child labour free. BMG support groups also lay stress on the formulation of schemes at the grass roots level by the villagers. Recognition of child labourers as well as on their rehabilitation is given special***

*emphasis. As a result of such initiatives there has been an increase in the involvement of various sections of the villagers in the formulation of various useful schemes. (*Interview, 2005*)*

Children as Active Agents

Another area of transformation is the active participation of children, which results in bringing children into the centre of the policy process. This shift in both normative and cognitive structures challenges norms of child participation and constructive agency. At the *Liberation Education* program, children are actively engaged in all decisions that affect them. In the BMGs, children very ably engage in the governance of their communities. Their input helps to clearly identify issues and strengths of the local system and provides pressure to make the education program of good quality and locally relevant. This presents new ideas about trusteeship of education. Very often this role has been played by adults within the community, but the BMG model indicates that children also have the capacity to be effectively involved in monitoring and guiding community education programs. A radical position for children in education!

The BMG program provides an example of how children are capable of being subjects of their lives, a key premise of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. The program allows for a strong link to be made between personal/individual and social action. Political and social literacy are key aspects of the process and children are very able to understand and participate in both political and social aspects of community life. The children's identities as engaged citizens are reinforced through participation and through the process of recognition by the wider community.

In addition, the protective capacity of schools becomes a community asset during the BMG process. When school – community relationships are weak, schools can become places of both real and perceived exclusion. Forging strong relationships between formal educators and community members requires challenging established patterns of relations and engaging in new ways of decisionmaking and problem solving.

The Impact of Liberation Education's Location in the Institutional Field

The location of *Liberation Education* as an institutional norm entrepreneur "on the edge of hope" is an encouraging sign in this institutional field that holds many barriers to social justice. This organization, strongly connected locally and internationally, presents a model of transformational education that is in many ways remarkable. This work breaks many established patterns of exploitation and challenges norms and legitimate practice that views the exploitation of children as something for which there is no alternative. In an institutional field that, on the whole, lacks good connections to the education sector, this organization stands out because it challenges so many of the established institutionalized structures.

Chapter 8

Discussion and Analysis

This study has taken a wide look at the actors and the actions that are taking place to address the abuse of children in contemporary slavery. The intent was to understand the possibilities and barriers to education being used as a tool to prevent children from becoming enslaved and also as a way to help children rescued from slavery to reintegrate into their communities. This chapter will pull together the key themes to build an understanding of current practices and what possibilities there are for changes in educational policy and practice.

What is the Role of Education in Disrupting Contemporary Child Slavery?

It was clear early on in the study that silence on the part of duty bearers played a major part in the abuse of children. This silence works to diminish spaces for change by limiting the diffusion of knowledge and the avoidance of norm clashes that carry the potential for change. Often this silence was linked to conflicting norms and practices; for example, laws that prohibit slavery are well established but not enforced. Particular groups within communities are marginalized although these same communities have well established regulations and norms regarding abuse. Silence is often a means of dealing with personal complicity and avoiding conflict. Therefore, we are all accountable for this silence. Parents who lack the skills or are embarrassed by their situation, have been silent about their children being tricked and stolen for slavery; families are silent about the sale of their children; communities have been silent about marginalized groups, including children; nations have made pledges to uphold the rights of children and to ban slavery of all forms, but have been silent when it comes to backing these pledges with

laws and enforcement; the international community has been quick to take up the neoliberal economic and social agenda of globalization but is silent when it comes to challenging global economic policy makers and corporate heads to uphold labour standards throughout the life of their products and services; educators in every country have been silent about the children who are excluded and missing from classrooms; and organizations have been silent about child slavery in attempts to keep their funding and relationships on good terms.

Schools tend to add to the problem of silence, despite the mandate for universal education, making re-entry back into the school system more difficult for children who have missed school due to exploitive work. Shields (2004) describes the pathology of silence in relation to school communities. Educators' "pathologization of [the lived experience of students] is covert and silent, engendering in students and their families feelings that, somehow they and their lived experiences are abnormal and unacceptable within the school community" (p. 112). In this study, the Child Friendly Village project was an example of how this can be changed. By beginning the Child Friendly Village process around the issue of exploitive child labour and openly presenting child labour as an unacceptable practice, the issue is opened not only for discussion but for action. Additionally, this project is an example of the nonformal and formal education sectors working in partnership to establish new practices that build both individual capacity but also strengthen the whole community, making both the school and community protective spaces for children. In essence, while we think of covering children with protection, this project suggests protection is provided by uncovering children and the issues that affect them.

The Role of Formal Education

The study showed that the formal education sector is generally outside of efforts to address child slavery. With the exception of the two global coalitions, the Global March Against Child Labour and the Global Campaign for Education, the role of the formal education sector is not being considered as part of an overall strategy of child protection. As a result, organizations have developed nonformal education responses as both prevention and rehabilitation approaches. With the strengthening of the GM and GCE coalitions, there is potential for the formal education sector to become more involved with organizations in the nonformal sector.

Working on the Edge of Hope

Three organizations were identified to be occupying space that I have called "on the edge of hope" as a description of the close connection the staff, and the organization as a whole, plays at the local level. I do not intend to suggest that all organizations working at the grassroots level occupy this space, because, as the research by Sen & Nair (2004) suggests, there are many ineffective, if not abusive, local education programs that perpetuate the marginalization of rescued slaves through physical and psychological violence. In this study, because I used a chain referral process, the local organizations included in the study were identified as being exemplary and particularly effective in providing or supporting education efforts to eliminate child slavery and its effects.

In both the interviews and the organizational documents, it was clear that this group of organizations exist in their communities not just as organizations but as ways of sharing lives in places of injustice. This place is one of power with its rich potential to

enact change but at the same time, a place where the reality of marginalization is inescapable and despair is always lurking. There are never enough funds, staff, or access to decision makers when you work on this edge. However, it is also the place where transformations in lives happen and the organizations "on the edge of hope" exhibited significant agency and ability in bringing about change. Their relationship building was strategic and focused and while they held rather skeptical views of the processes of networking and knowledge sharing, they also had strong relationships with institutional actors at all levels (local, national and international) as well as actors with different roles in the field (interpreters, entrepreneurs and enactors). They engaged in the processes of institutional change with a firm understanding of the realities that exist for child slaves, and it is their relationship with these children that anchors the actions of the organization. It was clear that they were influenced by international norms and work in the wider institutional field, but were ready and able to fight to keep control of their local position continuously moving between interorganizational spaces of competition, resistance and collaboration always exhibiting high degrees of assertiveness.

Human Rights Approach

In most societies, children occupy a position of both diluted rights and limited citizenship and this study revealed how this position functions as part of the oppression of children in contemporary slavery. As highlighted by Brysk (2005), there is a tension between the social logics of children as property or projects of their parents and/or cultural communities, and the logics of the human rights of children as a universal principle affirming both human dignity and equality. The patrimonial view of children

holds that children's rights, individually and collectively, are trumped by their group identity related to their family, ethnic group, or nation. In many cases, this patrimonial identity can provide a form of protection for children as their families negotiate ways to protect and socialize them. However, it is also this understanding of children in relation to others that operates most often when children are sold or contracted into slavery. The patrimonial invisibility serves to create both the vulnerability and the space for exploitation. Coupled with the global trafficking networks and a global silence on labour exploitation, there is little fear of reprisal for those who enslave and little hope of intervention for those enslaved.

Most organizations in this study used some form of human rights language to describe their approach to dealing with child slavery. Using a human rights frame is a way of placing this abuse into a normative frame and thereby creating a legitimizing frame around the enforcement of regulations regarding slavery, as well as attending to the needs of children who have been slaves. Human rights become a way to bind the abuse of power in the case of child slavery to moral standards. That this is beginning to happen at a global level suggests children as bearers of human rights may become a global normative position. As human rights standards become institutional field norms there are shifts in the work that organizations carry out. There was evidence that this shift is happening, although there are inconsistencies in how this frame is being used. Two particular approaches to human rights were evident in this study, a neoliberal human rights perspective and human rights as social justice perspective:

Neoliberalized Human Rights	Human Rights as Social Justice
• slavery as (bad) individual choice or lack of individual capacity	• slavery as structural abuse • children's right to protection
• poverty as cause of child labour • work as individual choice • children's right to work • children as capable, resilient members of society; "a will of their own" (Leibel, 2005) • rights versus needs approach; power shifted to children	• poverty as symptom of child labour • children's right to provision; redistribution of wealth and power • rights versus needs approach shifts power to children
• participation is key to children's rights • participation an expression of full citizenship	• child centered rights include integration of participation with provision and protection • sole focus on participation indicates failure of state to provide and protect •
• poor children have a right to work • "take the hazard out of the work, not the child out of the work"	• universal right to education; abolition of child labour

A human rights approach can be subject to shifting values and norms such as the case of the neoliberalizaiton of rights identified in this study. Framing neoliberal interventions in human rights language is problematic as the neoliberal approach to human rights can utilize the same logics as the exploitation of children including patrimony, marketization, citizenship as consumerism, commodification, and individualism. On the other hand, human rights as a tool for social justice presents the rights of children as an integration of entitlements to participate in the issues and decisions that affect them, to be provided support and services that will enable them to develop their full human potential, and to be protected from harmful people, policies and actions that would interfere with this full human development. These nested rights are considered universal, having no exceptions that would differentiate between rich and poor children, between boys and girls, between children of different religions, nationalities, abilities, races, sexual orientations or geographical locations. A right to participation suggests that issues and interventions that involve children need to have children at the centre as subjects rather than objects.

Educating for human rights as a tool to disrupt child slavery

As the case of the *Liberation Education* program shows, a human rights approach can be an important educational framework when working with the issue of child slavery. When human rights based work is framed as an effort to universalize respect for human dignity, it provides an alternative way to link local, national, and global efforts but also takes human rights into areas often involving only state actors. Jochnik (1999) suggests that moving human rights beyond the state-centric paradigm serves two purposes. First "it challenges the reigning neo-liberal extremism that infects much of the public

discourse about development and poverty, providing a rhetoric and vision to suggest that entrenched poverty is neither inevitable nor acceptable" (p. 57). In the case of child slavery, the attitude that "there is no alternative" permeates the thinking and policy approaches in communities and states around the world. If the strong local and global networks that perpetuate child slavery are to be interrupted, the whole approach to exploitive child labour must be reframed. A human rights frame based on the universal concept of human dignity can provide the avenue for social change based on a vision of justice based on human dignity (cf. Stammers, 1999).

Children's participation

A significant part of the *Liberation Education* programs is the focus on authentic participation of children. Children who are students in the rehabilitation program are engaged in leadership activities with their peers and with outside school and community groups. The Child Friendly Village program has child participation as its foundation. These spaces of participation are instrumental in making children visible and also provide them the space to learn the citizenship skills they need to claim access. This combination of rights and access can be understood as agency.

Freire (1973) suggested that as people become subjects in their own space or context, they give meaning to their actions. There is perhaps no greater example of disempowerment and objectification than that of human slavery. The *Liberation Education* case provides evidence of a process of agency being brought to life in former child slaves. This agency can be understood to have three important components:

Deliberative Agency	• having voice within the social sphere

	• authentic process of dialogue between social actors • ability to engage in processes of conflict resolution as subject
Critical Agency	• ability to question self, others and the context • process of reflection and action
Constructive agency	• creative action • ability to act on one's context as subject

This description of agency draws on Freire's (1973; 1970/1997) understanding of critical consciousness as a process of engaging in social change. This study provides evidence of a process of agency where the practice of deliberative dialogue is combined with subject based actions and a critical attitude to create the ability to project oneself into the social realm. This agency not only provides the child with access to social justice, but provides the possibility for the child to take a leadership role in building a socially just community. This was accomplished as a project of liberatory education that serves as an example of how education can be a tool for social change and a creative mechanism to assist children in claiming their right to a protective and participatory space for their full human development. The example of education as liberation that

exists in the *Liberation Education* program provides evidence that education can be a tool of social justice and liberation. It will be interesting to follow if and how this model of education diffuses through the institutional field. The *Liberation Education* organization is positioned in the field to facilitate the diffusion of the norms and practices that are the foundation of this model.

How are Educational Organizations Situated in Relation to Other Organizations within the Institutional Field?

If we take the position that education is never neutral, serving to either reinforce established marginalizations or to challenge them, education that does not address the exclusion of children through slavery will stand to perpetuate it by, if nothing else, its silence. To fully grasp education as a position in the field, we can't look at programs or lack of programs in isolation but need to understand the system and the institutional field within which the education sector exists.

In this study of the institutional field, there is evidence of the norms that legitimate particular actions. Constitutive norms create institutional facts or basically, create the thing they describe. Therefore, these norms are both creative and open to modification in their effect, determining "what counts" within the field. In this policy context, emerging constitutive norms are

- child rights
- partnerships
- children's participation

- universalism, particularly in reference to human rights and equity related to gender, class, race, caste and religion.

Formal education that avoids these norms or acts in ways that are seen to be outside these norms, will then take an illegitimate position within the field. Many of the organizational staff who were interviewed held this view of education. The formal education sector is seen as in opposition to children's rights and children's participation; difficult to work with in partnerships; and not providing universal access to marginalized groups. Therefore, within the institutional field, educators were in some cases, seen as part of the problem and the location of resistance to entering into partnerships to facilitate change. In other cases, the formal education system was not even considered as a potential partner, with other actors not recognizing the potential that exists within the formal sector.

As Meyer-Bisch (2005) suggests, we can understand the formal education system as that which can best build individual capacity. To provide an effective education system it requires an integrated approach that links formal and nonformal efforts to build social capacity. Therefore, a social justice role for education is more likely fulfilled when formal educators link with nonformal educators as a project of building the common good, which could be considered as an essential social justice and human development goal. In this way, the education sector becomes part of the common good by playing a role in creating just provision, protection and a participatory space for all children.

Understanding local - global dynamics [5]

The current international context is one where the normalizing of global liberalism has shifted normative, regulatory and cognitive practices. In the case of child slavery, there exists an intertwined relationship between global institutions and local abuse by private actors. Brysk (2005) suggests that "liberal globalist visions have concealed important arenas of private power and conflict that must be addressed to secure universal rights" (p. 3). When global links with local sites of struggle are severed, possibilities to interrupt abuse become more limited. This issue takes us into the contested areas of the public and also private global civil society involvement in private space, particularly private local space. While the possibilities of transnational hegemony are very real, it is also evident that transnational efforts might also be the key to the protection of those most vulnerable in local contexts: for example, women and children who are trafficked for slavery. If and how international agents establish and maintain connection to local issues and experience is of critical importance.

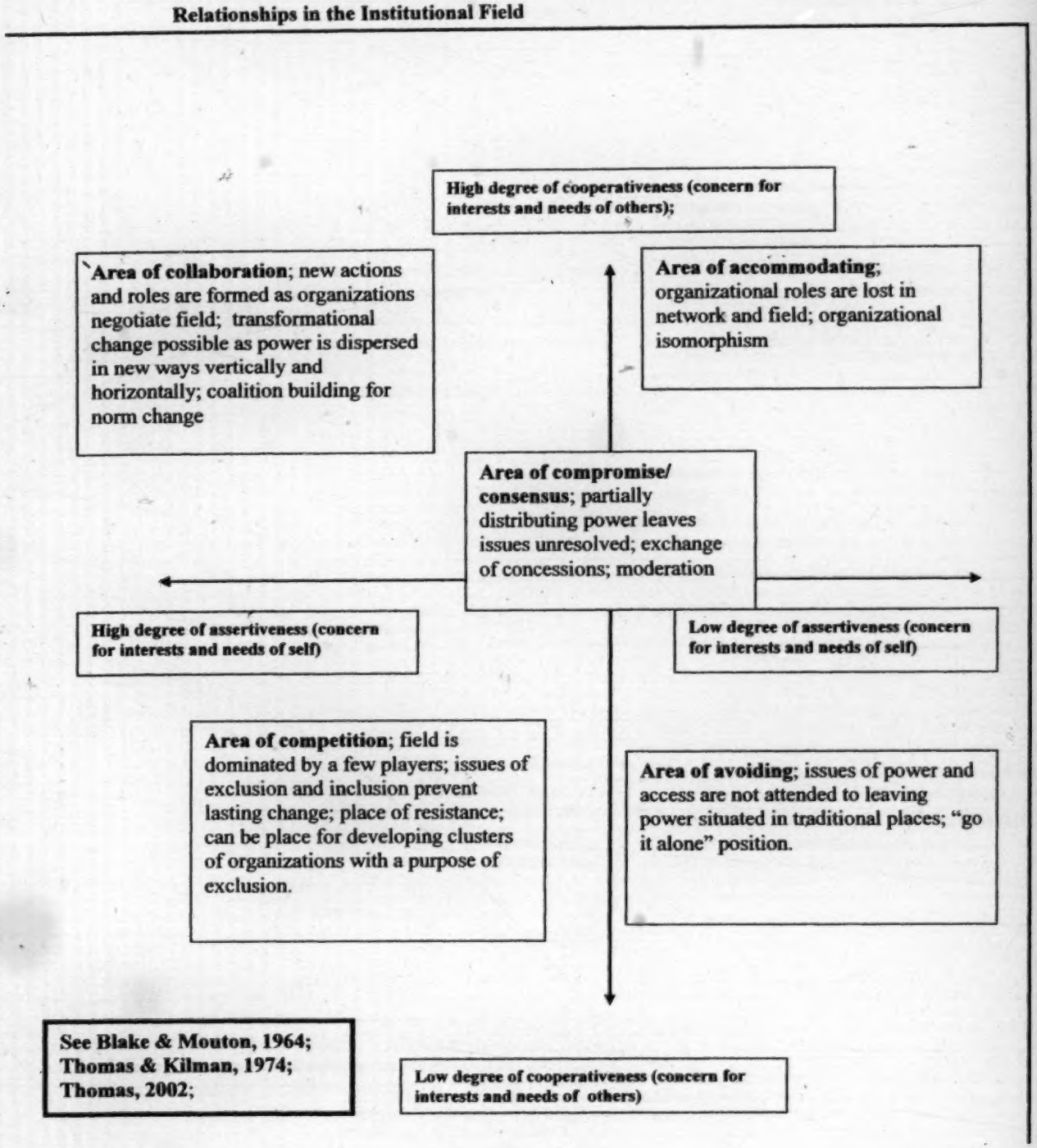
Throughout the world, shifting local, national and international relationships have had an impact. States have shifted their policy to be in line with the neoliberal expectations of the international financial system and with this has come the development of systems that allow governments to centralize control and decentralize responsibility or to steer at a distance (Whitty et al., 1998). By using funding and reporting relationships, governments shape, normalize, and instrumentalize conduct, thought, decisions, and aspirations of others in order to achieve their objectives (Miller & Rose, 1990). The theories suggest that organizations are pressured to conform to

[5] This section is part of a published paper Shultz (2006). Disrupting contemporary child slavery through organizational network: The possibilities and barriers. Canadian and International Education. Vol 35 (1) pp 28-41.

government policy and institutional pressures through these systems. As well, this framework suggests programs that had been driven by the needs of the community and often the most marginalized in the community, change and become driven by state or international agendas. As focus and funds shift away from the local community level, so, too, does knowledge exchange. More and more decisions are made outside local communities. International organizations continue to be the drivers of initiatives rather than the supporters of local efforts. In this study, there is evidence that organizations have learned to find alternatives to these isomorphic processes. Without exception, organization staff who were interviewed identified collaboration and networking as important strategies. These relationship building processes were very strategic, particularly at the grassroots level. It indicates that these organizations are capable of searching out organizations that will form strategic alliances, not necessarily for resource acquisition as one might expect, but to achieve their organizational purpose. These relationships crossed local, national

and international boundaries. At the international level, most study participants identified finding local partners as a key part of their work. In order to achieve their goals, these international partners engaged with local organizations in ways that reflected the international organization's primary role in the institutional field. However, the study also indicate that tensions existed where relationships were established

Figure 6. Beyond Resistance and Conformity: Negotiating Organizational Relationships in the Institutional Field


High degree of cooperativeness (concern for interests and needs of others);
Area of collaboration; new actions and roles are formed as organizations negotiate field; transformational change possible as power is dispersed in new ways vertically and horizontally; coalition building for norm change
Area of accommodating; organizational roles are lost in network and field; organizational isomorphism
Area of compromise/ consensus; partially distributing power leaves issues unresolved; exchange of concessions; moderation
High degree of assertiveness (concern for interests and needs of self)
Low degree of assertiveness (concern for interests and needs of self)
Area of competition; field is dominated by a few players; issues of exclusion and inclusion prevent lasting change; place of resistance; can be place for developing clusters of organizations with a purpose of exclusion.
Area of avoiding; issues of power and access are not attended to leaving power situated in traditional places; "go it alone" position.
See Blake & Mouton, 1964; Thomas & Kilman, 1974; Thomas, 2002;
Low degree of cooperativeness (concern for interests and needs of others)

There is no indication that organizational relationships are sites of consensus, and organization staff indicated they engaged in various means of conflict resolution, including avoidance, to negotiate this space. As Blake and Mouton (1964) identified, conflict between organization actors is a multidimensional and dynamic process of negotiating power as it exists in relationships. As Thomas & Kilmann (2002) suggest, this negotiating can be understood as working through tensions of degrees of cooperation (or concern for the needs and interests of others) and degrees of assertiveness (or concern for self interests and needs). Relationships that are characterized by the domination of one organization's needs and interests become mired in competition and behaviours that limit the effectiveness of all actors involved. Relationships where there is a high degree of both cooperation and assertiveness are able to use power in ways to create new collaborative spaces for enacting change. There was evidence in this study that these relationships exist both vertically and horizontally, with some international organizations working collaboratively with local organizations, while other international organizations were unable to build the necessary relationships with local organizations and were less able to carry out their work. On the other hand, the local organizations represented in this study all negotiated with other organizations within the field at all levels. The formal education sector can be seen to occupy a place in the "avoiding" section where the needs and interests of the education sector are not considered, nor does the education sector engage in cooperation with other organizations to address the issue of child slavery.

The organizations within this study all identified collaboration and networking as important to making changes in prevention and intervention strategies for children vulnerable to being enslaved or those rescued from slavery. What the study revealed is that forming effective collaborative networks is difficult and must be addressed in an intentional manner. The issue of transnational, national, and local relations is of particular significance in the issue of contemporary child slavery. We need to support those organizations and networked partnerships that can have an impact on the problem of child slavery and at the same time provide means for sorting through issues of inclusion and exclusion, an area where networks can be problematic. Work needs to be done to establish appropriate mechanisms to critique whose knowledge is being included and whose is excluded. Small, local organizations and schools that are often excluded, have essential experience and knowledge that must be included, particularly in policy processes. It is also clear that the experiences of children, particularly vulnerable children need to be brought into the centre of policy. As we saw in the case of the *Liberation Education* program and the Child Friendly Village program, where the formal education sector took on a social justice role it became an effective partner in empowering children.

Understanding the Potential for Change and Policy Implications

As Grindle & Thomas (1991; in Brock et al, 2005) suggest, policy spaces are "moments in which interventions or events throw up new opportunities, reconfiguring relationships between actors or bringing in new ones, and opening up the possibilities of a shift in direction" (p. 18). In the case of child slavery, it seems now is an important time where there is interest and certainly a need for new policy to be developed to ensure that children are protected from slavery. The challenge, however, for education policy

makers and practitioners is significant. The implications of being excluded from the coalition building, the networking and the policy processes are significant and mean that the capacity for playing a social justice role by formal educators is very limited. However, as the *Liberation Education* case example showed, the possibility for creating this space of social justice *can* be developed when local communities work across sectors and across traditional boundaries. In the case of child slavery, the catalyst for this work has generally come from outside the local communities, and in some cases the nations, where the marginalization takes place. For example, in the case of India which has been a world leader in efforts to eliminate child slavery, Saini (2006) suggests, "it is intriguing to note that many or even most of the important initiatives in attaining the abolition of child labour have come from outside Indian society and polity. But for the pressure of the ILO and the UN, India might not have declared the fight against child labour as one of its principal political goals" (p. 161).

Saini also sees the importance of outside influences at the community level: "Because most affected children belong to poor families from lower castes who have little voice in the opinion-making dynamic in the country, community participation in the fight against child labour is perhaps unthinkable (p. 161). However, the outside influences that are successful come from organizations that are fully engaged with the local people in processes of change. The study also indicated that while exo-community input and support can be essential, change cannot be imposed from outside. This is a hard lesson for many organizations, particularly large international organizations that have "scaling up" local successes as key strategies. Local efforts that build social solidarity are necessary to disrupt child slavery and to make communities protective spaces for all

children. Social solidarity, as seen in the Child Friendly Village programs, provides an inclusive environment where children were protected from abuse by the provision of services such as education, as well as provided an authentic participatory space where they can claim their rights as part of a common good.

Creating change in the field

Catalysts for change are also important in understanding policy implications. These catalysts emerge within the institutional structures and are often first evident as significant tensions. In this study, there are several "norm clashes" (Knight, 2003) that indicate resistance and challenges to established norms. All organizations in this study indicated the need to protect children in new ways, however, beyond that there were significant tensions. Norm clashes include:

- understandings of children as patrimonial objects being challenged as it becomes clear that the exploitation of children is held in place by views of children as lacking the capacity to be rights bearers.
- neoliberalism and the view that all work is good
- participation of children
- state vs. private protection of children
- universality of human rights
- education as a tool for social justice
- redistribution of power and wealth vs creating opportunity for individuals to participate as the primary approach to child protection

These areas of norm tension create the potential for new policy spaces and the possibility that the protective capacity of formal education could be realized.

Organizing Education for Children's Agency

The idea of expanding the possibilities for participation of marginalized people has been part of the discourse of development for at least the past fifteen years as a response to top-down development approaches that served to perpetuate the perception that poor people were deficient, not only in material ways, but also in ideas and abilities. As the modernization process was transposed onto people's lives, it became obvious that the results were in many ways disastrous leaving individuals and communities more vulnerable economically, socially, politically and environmentally than ever before. Shifts toward participatory approaches soon became a panacea for all that was wrong with development. Participatory approaches have shifting power and empowerment as their goals (cf. Chambers, 1994; 1997). The response to this shift has been an extensive critique that participation was being co-opted to serve a range of political agendas, the least of which was that of poor and marginalized people. Critics also suggest that participation is used as a technocratic tool that imposes power rather than overcomes it; local communities are romantically imagined to be undivided, homogenous social objects that create a healthy and 'neutral' local knowledge; and wider processes of institution building are seen as outside local realities (cf. Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Kesby, 2005; Williams, 2004). Therefore, it is with cautious optimism that the theme of children's participation is presented as an important conclusion in this study. The preventive and rehabilitation work by the *Liberation Education* program are powerful examples of how children's participation can create change toward social justice. Therefore, the idea of participation as it relates to power and agency needs to be explored.

This study supports Clegg's (1989) idea that power, rather than a sovereign commodity concentrated in the hands of a few (cf. Maguire, 1987), is decentered and dynamic. (See also, Foucault 1991; 1980; Kesby, 2005).

> Power is not inherent within powerful subjects but is dispersed throughout the complex networks of discourse, practices, and relationships that position subjects as powerful and that justify and facilitate their authority in relation to others (Clegg, 1989, p. 207).

As Kesby (2005) suggests, even violence, a seemingly sovereign expression of power, is enabled by social conventions (p. 2041) . Child slavery is enabled by social conventions that support the exclusion of children from any form of political or social activity and, therefore, exclusion from access to the power to change those conventions that are unjust. The *Liberation Education* programming created space where children were able to identify not only global structural violence but also the nature and limits of local knowledge regarding the exploitation of children. They were given the skills and opportunity to renegotiate the right to provision and protection at the local level through this participation. As Kesby suggests, alternative forms of self-governance (such as participation) are key to achieving the agency necessary to challenge structural violence such as slavery. The education sector could take a leadership role in creating education environments where deliberative, cognitive, and constructive agency are learned and practiced in authentic ways. Kesby also supports the idea that this agency needs to be understood to exist beyond just the local environment. "When subjects leave a local site of participation, their feelings of empowerment are unlikely to survive unless double conditioned by collective action at a wider scale" (2005, p 2059). In this study, it was

clear that children who were given the opportunity to engage in leadership activities at the *Liberation Education* project, as well as in their communities, and then engaged in international actions, such as the Global March Against Child Labour, were able to deepen their conscientized agency and were able to develop activist relationships in other social settings.

What can we learn from the *Liberation Education* model? The first important understanding is that children are capable of very significant engagement in local and international levels when these spaces are authentic and longstanding. The Child Friendly Village project differs from other "children's participation" activities in that it strives to make the Children's assembly a formal part of the governance structure of the community. Children aren't just invited to provide information to decision-makers; they are viewed as decision-makers in their own right. That this process involves both nonformal and formal education actors is also important. The authentic participation needed for agency cannot be contained within just some of the areas of a child's life; the Child Friendly Village project allowed space for children to address issues in their family, school and out-of-school/community life. In the *Liberation Education* rehabilitation program, children were engaged as active decision-makers in all matters that affected them including their education program, the daily activities outside the formal education components, and leadership activities in the wider community. The success of these children when they return to their home communities suggests they have been able to link their leadership skills from the *Liberation Education* program with wider collective actions at the community, national, and international level.

This chapter has provided insights into how education might become a much more important part of creating protection for children who might be enslaved and for providing education that liberates those who have experienced slavery. While the problem of contemporary child slavery can seem quite overwhelming, and the fact that it exists at all is a statement of failure to such a degree that there seems little hope, this study has provided evidence that change for social justice is possible. This chapter has identified the barriers and possibilities for such change and, by working with both, institutional actors can be much more effective at creating change that will serve the needs of the children who have been exploited. In the next chapter, the study conclusions will summarize the key findings and point out specific actions that can be taken to provide more effective educational policies and practices in relation to child slavery.

Chapter 9

Conclusions and Recommendations

This study sought to understand and analyze the role education plays in disrupting contemporary child slavery by examining the policies and practices of organizations identified through a chain referral process as working in the field of providing services to children who have been enslaved or vulnerable to being enslaved. This understanding of the impact of the institutional field was further explored through a case study of an organization that has explicitly named their abolitionist position with regards to child slavery and used that position as a frame to engage in activities for social change to improve the lives of children rescued from slavery and to prevent further cases of child slavery. These activities are examined in relation to the wider context of the institutional field in order to identify the effects of normative, cognitive, and regulative institutional structures and the possibility for change. Specifically I addressed the following research questions: What is the role of education in disrupting contemporary child slavery? How are educational organizations that provide education for former child slaves situated in relation to other organizations within the institutional field? What is the potential for change in the institutional field and in education practice? What are the policy implications for local, national and international organizations concerned with combating the effects of slavery through education?

In my analysis I drew on institutional theory to understand how the regulations, normative prescriptions and evaluations of appropriateness and legitimacy, as well as the understood meanings and practices, constrain and enable efforts for social change. This institutional analysis was a critical process of understanding the relationship between

organizational location in the institutional field and the diffusion of ideas, which are the building blocks of institutional change. This analysis provided insight into what is considered legitimate practice in the field and how this practice reflects changes that will impact the life possibilities of exploited children.

This chapter provides a summary of the major findings of the study. Based on these findings, suggestions of practices for the formal and non-formal education sectors, as well as for further research will be offered.

Major Findings

Theory of Change

Institutional theory provides a helpful frame to understand the processes of changing practice. This is important in a study that has, as its foundation, concerns of social justice which suggest a need for social change. Analysis at the institutional field level provides a way to view the research problem in its wider context and identify patterns that legitimize particular behaviours over others. It is also possible to identify the processes whereby change becomes possible. This approach to the research problem requires developing relationship understandings of the work with a focus on how particular relationships affect the diffusion of ideas and meaning making and, in turn, the enactment of these ideas in practice. The study indicated that relationships in the field were characterized by varying degrees of conflict related to the locations and role in the field, particularly where organizations enacting the role of norm entrepreneurs interacted with those who were more centrally located in the field and functioned as norm enactors, essentially holding existing norms and standards in place. Conflict also occurred around

the practical aspects of organizational life for example: finding and maintaining funding or protecting organizational identity. The role of conflict in the institutional field is important and could be the focus of further research, particularly as it relates to change.

The Institutional Field of Education Provision

The institutional field is made up of international, national and local actors who create or limit the possibilities for education provided to children who have been rescued from slavery and to those vulnerable to being enslaved. Of interest in this study is how such education can be a tool of human development to expand the life possibilities of these children. The institutional field is both created by these actors and, at the same time, creates the actors through the institutional processes that involve actors playing different roles in relation to other actors. Patterns of behaviour that are evident indicate the importance of international - local relationships in the process of norm change. Challenges to slavery have typically come from actors outside local communities in the form of changing multilateral agreements, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, or as global advocacy campaigns that carry strong normative messages. However, it is evident that changed practice cannot be imposed from outside the local level. Norms are changed through diffusion which involves complex and dynamic relationships that move across local to global levels.

The study showed that local community organizations well linked across these levels of the institutional field are effective in creating change and that this change is linked to the processes of meaning making within local communities and the local cultural groups that make up those communities. This local space "on the edge of hope" is where the innovative and transformational work of change can happen. The

organizations that exist in this space are outside the mainstream or centre of the field where there is security in working within what is seen as normal and legitimate practice. These organizations maintain a connected but distinct place in the field and in this way are locations of significant power for change. In this location, community based organizations can lead a process of what Campbell (2005; 2004) describes as widening the range of the possible by re-imagining practice and thereby shifting cognitive institutional structures. This shift will, in turn, affect the normative and regulative structures, which involves processes of conflict as power is challenged and/or renegotiated within the field. The implications for this finding are significant for multilateral and international organizations and suggest that the strength of international organizations' relationships with local actors will determine the effectiveness of the organizations' work.

The study showed that while collaboration was seen as key to the work of individual organizations, attempts to establish collaborative relationships were difficult and actors did not necessarily have ways to sort through these difficulties. There is tension around deciding who to engage with, what projects to support, and to what extent support for collaborative initiatives interfered with individual organization's interests. Therefore, organizational relationships across the field were characterized by conflict and competition, particularly regarding funding, "turf" protection, and influence of external actors. The competition and protection of individual interests limited the exchange of ideas and the diffusion of knowledge within the field. Building collaborative partnerships requires challenging and changing established patterns of relations and engaging in new ways of decision-making and conflict resolution.

The Education Sector as Part of the Field

The study indicates that the formal education sector is not well connected in the field and most of the education work is carried out by non-formal education actors. Participants in the study described the formal education sector, mainly primary and secondary schools, as difficult to work with in partnerships; as not providing universal access to marginalized children; as working in opposition to children's rights, particularly children's right to participation; and as being part of the problem of both a collaborative approach to social change as well as the problem of child slavery as a whole. In many cases, the formal education sector was not even considered as a potential partner. Therefore, the potential that the formal education sector holds as a tool for social change and as a protective space for children continues to be on the whole, unrecognized and undeveloped. However, in the case study, there was evidence of the potential for change where the protective capacity of schools becomes a community asset through strong community - school partnerships.

Silence as a Barrier to Change

This study suggests the needs of children in general, and children exploited in slavery in particular, are not well represented at local, national, or international levels. Children are seen as outside political and policy processes as well as processes of social and economic development. This fact and the fact that anti-slavery laws are in place at international, national and local levels indicates a tension within the institutional field that is manifested in silence. This silence is a barrier to social change as it prevents the diffusion of ideas and alternative practices throughout the field. It is necessary that organizations name the exploitation explicitly in their work. In the case study, the silence

was challenged by creating community space to speak about child slavery and child exploitation and then making children visible through creating the means for authentic participation in the governance of the community; in essence, this program was effective in changing the lives of children by uncovering them to protect them rather than covering them as protection.

Neoliberalism as a Barrier to Change

Evidence of the diffusion of the norms and values related to neoliberalism was threaded throughout the data from policy documents and interviews. This diffusion included framing how international organizations could or should move unencumbered throughout the world, but also in key normative structures related to children's rights. Some organizations that are focused on increased children's participation have combined this idea with neoliberal norms to create (albeit unintentionally in most cases) an approach to children's participation that supports the neoliberal agenda which demands states shift responsibility away from the public domain to individuals. This shift means the ultimate success of neoliberalism is premised on the participation of individual citizens, thereby freeing (to varying degrees) the state from its role of protection and provision. Organizations working for social change for children often reference the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) as an important source of legitimacy for their work. The CRC promotes an integrated approach to children's entitlements to protection, provision, and participation. However, a neoliberalized take-up of the human rights agenda is evident when organizations champion children's participation without also including provision and protection. In these approaches, the child is understood to be able to freely, and in most cases, individually, make choices and take action to provide

and protect him or herself. This neoliberal citizen then only requires "participation space" rather than a full range of protective and provisional entitlements that would secure individual and social human development. Children who are vulnerable to being enslaved are greatly affected by this trend. These children, who live in poverty because of a combination of exploitation and marginalization, face great challenges in the new economic reality where they are left to negotiate work conditions without the supports that are assumed to be necessities for non-poor children. In some cases, organizations and communities end up supporting "poor children's right to work" in contrast to "non-poor children's right to education". It is clear that this sets up a situation where the exploitation of children without consequence is made even more possible.

Norm Clashes and Emerging Norms

Norm clashes herald potential areas of change. In this study several areas emerged as places where new ideas and norms were being considered and practiced to varying degrees. Where change was starting there was evidence of some types of backlash and conflict where established practice was being challenged. These emerging norms are:

(1) Child rights: With the ratification of the CRC, a strong framework for shifting focus on to children, organizations have taken a range of approaches to integrating these rights into their work. Those organizations that were involved in creating significant change for exploited children used a human rights as universal human dignity framework as the platform for their efforts.

Significant challenges and backlash to children's rights appear in the form of identifiable forms of thinking that support a particular approach to intervening in the

exploitation of children which limits children's access to human rights entitlements. Logics of patrimony support addressing the needs of children through the needs of their parents or cultural group. In these cases, children's rights are trumped by those of parents and/or cultural groups or the state, and in the process, the exploitation of children remains hidden. Logics of necessity are used to frame particular responses to child exploitation; for example, adults who are duty bearers hold the view that there is no alternative to poor children working in poor conditions. Logics of individualism support interventions that treat exploitation as an indication of the limited capacity of the individual child (or family). Children's exploitation in slavery is seen as a result of poor choices by individuals rather than human rights abuses and structural violence. The severity of this backlash underscores the significance of power relations within the institutional field and the difficulty related to change.

(2) Children's participation: This norm is related to the norm of Child Rights. The CRC establishes that children have a right to protection, provision, and participation. While there is evidence that a neoliberalized approach addresses participation outside protection and provision, for example, participation as consumption and/or choice and ensuring the individual is "free" to consume and choose, this study has located participation in a different place. The case study provided evidence of the powerful impact a nested approach to the entitlements to protection, provision and participation can have in creating a space for healthy and engaged children's development. The preventive and rehabilitation work identified in the case study are examples of how children's participation can create change toward social justice. It is important to understand that children are capable of very significant and extensive engagement in

local and international levels when these spaces are authentic and longstanding and where children are viewed as capable decision-makers. There is evidence that child slavery is enabled by social conventions that support the exclusion of children from any form of political or social activity and, therefore, exclusion from access to the power to change those conventions that are unjust. Through providing ways for children to learn and develop critical, deliberative and constructive agency, it is possible that children, particularly marginalized children, can access social justice, and experience a leadership role in building a socially just community

The Study Recommendations

The findings of this study suggest particular recommendations for practice and for further study. These findings address the research questions' focus on change.

(1) *Breaking the silence*. It is critical that the exploitation of children as slaves is clearly named. This also involves naming who is missing from local communities and from local schools as well as naming those who exploit children through the practice of slavery. An approach that builds children's full agency and provides space for a full range of children's voices, engaging them in a critique of their community and wider contexts, and providing avenues for authentic action has proven to be particularly helpful in this process. Partnerships between schools and communities can be an important mechanism for creating this participatory space

(2) *Working for change across institutional structures*. The laws that prohibit slavery are well established but change will happen only when these laws are enforced and upheld from the individual to the international level. The study showed that

an integrated approach where community agencies, well linked to institutional actors across the field and working in coalition, can engage in a preventive and rehabilitative program that involves regulative changes, normative changes, and cognitive changes.

(3) The location, role, and influence of organizations in the institutional field help to understand how change is possible. The potential for institutional change to end child slavery and the reintegration of children who have been exploited as slaves, exists in the actors that make up the institutional field. Organizations play roles of norm interpreters of established norms, enactors of these norms, or entrepreneurs that are the harbingers of norm change. These roles suggest particular relationships with other actors will be of interest to different organizations and organizations need to be attentive to the processes of building relationships. Organizations should work to build more effective partnerships with organizations working outside the central location in the field. While the legitimacy of this central position can be an asset, if the goal is change for social justice, those organizations working locally must be recognized for their essential role in change.

(4) *The role of education.* The formal education sector needs to take a more active role in creating a protective space for children who are vulnerable to being enslaved. This study highlighted the importance of making connections between the formal and non-formal education sectors. Linking community organizations working for social justice with local schools creates important spaces for building

social capacity. In this way, the role of schools as community assets is enhanced and the protective capacity of schools can be more fully realized.

(5) *Putting children at the centre of policy*. Few policy processes include children at any point. While there are some efforts to gather information from children to inform policy makers, these efforts do little to ensure that children's experiences or needs are addressed. For marginalized children, the challenge is even more significant. This study indicates that children are capable of very significant contributions to policy making if provided authentic and long-term possibilities. New ways of including children in leadership roles throughout policy processes is needed. Particular attention must be given to including children who are traditionally excluded.

(6) *Policy coherence around the CRC.* The needs of children cut across many established institutional structures. Education, which is closely related to children, is excluded from policy processes regarding children exploited by slavery and child labour. Governments and civil society organizations need to take a more coherent approach to building policies that make sense for children. Labour, health, education, justice, immigration, social welfare and international cooperation policy processes need to build in ways to put children into the centre of policies. This requires collaborating in new ways across sectors and taking time to ask the basic question: "How does this affect children and particularly marginalized children?" in whatever policy is being developed. The Convention on the Rights of the Child provides an excellent mechanism to do this. If all state and organization policies included a *CRC checkpoint* that helped evaluate the

policy in relation to the rights of children, the norms of human rights for children would become established across institutions. As it stands at this point, the CRC, while being ratified by all countries except Somalia and the United States, is still far from being evident across state or organization policies and practices. If the CRC became entrenched in policy processes, the silence and abuse of children stands to be addressed in much more effective ways.

(7) *Organizing for change*. Change involves significant amounts of conflict and for many individuals and organizations it is more important to avoid conflict through avoidance or conformity than struggle for social justice. However, if we really want to see change in contemporary child slavery, it is clear that there needs to be a better understanding of how change happens and how to deal with social actors whose needs and interests are conflicting. This study showed that the location of institutional actors played a key part in the process of change and that improving the life possibilities for children exploited by slavery requires working for change in coalitions that span the institutional field in both location and role. The complex and often difficult processes of coalition building and networking need to be more clearly addressed in the work of organizations in order to build the capacity to work collaboratively to achieve change.

(8) *Collaboration for change*. This study showed that it is important to work for change by addressing regulative, normative and cognitive structures in a coordinated way. This requires building relationships for long term processes of change from the local community level to the international level. The kind of change needed to end child slavery cannot be done in isolation at any one level. It

is also important to consider partnerships with organizations with divergent roles and in different sectors.

Future Research

(1) The lack of research examining the legacy of colonialism and its impact on current practices in slavery and interventions is a gap that should be addressed in future work. This work might begin with the work of such scholars as Fanon (1968; 1967); Said (1995); and Spivak (1996; 1993) and proceed to examining local contextualizations of colonization and the practices of slavery.

(2) The silence that was identified in this study requires a much more in-depth exploration. There is a need to reframe and re-theorize silence and particularly to explore how racism and masculinism are part of the silencing of duty bearers as contemporary child slavery continues to increase.

(3) There is a need to more fully understand the relationships between formal and nonformal education and the impact of these relationships on social justice. While this study provided an example where these partnerships were used to prevent the exploitation of children and to create schools and communities that were protective spaces for children, further research is needed to understand the possibilities and barriers to these partnerships.

(4) Further research is needed to understand education and children's rights. Should schools be oriented toward being protective spaces for children and, if so, how is this protective capacity to be understood? There are certain implications for

children's participation and for social capacity building which is in tension with much of the current educational focus on individual achievement. How would a nested approach to human rights, including protection, provision and participation affect the education system?

(5) Organizations that were instrumental in challenging established practice are identified in this study as norm entrepreneurs on the edge of hope, and interviews with personnel from these organizations raised questions about the importance of organizational leadership for work that involves conflict and change. Research to further understand leadership within these organizations would help to clarify how particular organizations become norm entrepreneurs and the organizational leadership required to stay engaged at the edges and interstices of the institutional field throughout the process of change.

Final Thoughts

As I began this research, my goal was to more fully understand contemporary child slavery and the potential of education as a tool for change. The research has revealed a complicated overlapping of issues that serves to perpetuate this abuse of children. While this particular study is complete, I will continue to work to help organizations more effectively provide education that serves the needs of children rescued from slavery and those who are vulnerable to this exploitation.

I have met some remarkable people over the course of this work and have learned a tremendous amount about education that liberates in contrast to education that restrains, contains, and reproduces existing discrimination and marginalization of particular individuals and groups. I have developed a deeper understanding of how educators, in

both formal and nonformal settings, can provide education that either helps children "deal with life" or "create life", two very different approaches to what is possible. As Campbell (2005) suggests, we are limited by what we can cognitively imagine and this research has helped me expand what I understand to be possible for exploited children. I also understand, at a much deeper level that, as Freire (1970; 1973) pointed out, reflection is a very necessary part of creating change for social justice. The education program that I encountered at the organization that was the case study for this research provided liberation for the children who attended their programs by engaging in deeply reflective and reflexive practice.

I was also deeply challenged by this research, particularly as I struggled to understand the depth of the abuse that these children have experienced and how their lives might move forward in ways that somehow mitigated this abuse. It was necessary to weave my experiences in the field with my understandings and experiences of organizational change and educational practice as well as with the theories that framed my research. There were many times that I was required to confront my own limitations, as a researcher, an educator and, in fact, a human who shares the reality of such dehumanization as slavery. That I encountered so many people committed to working to create change was particularly powerful and my hope is that this study can in some way help them create even better spaces for education and ultimate change for social justice. I am hopeful that this study will have implications for future research and for future work in schools and NGO education programming. I am also hopeful that the participants in the study will recognize the value of their work and see possibilities of working more collaboratively and creatively to create change.

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Appendix A: ***Organization Documents for Analysis***

Actionaid (2003). Global education review. International education unit. 87 pgs.

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CEF (India) (n.d). *Commonwealth education fund: Investing in children.* Organization information document. Delhi, India. 4 pgs.

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ILO –IPEC (2002b). *Unbearable to the human heart. Child trafficking and action to eliminate it.* 94 pgs.

ILO (New Delhi). (n.d). *Indus Child Labour Project*. InFocus programme on the elimination of child labour. 13 pgs.

ILO-IPEC (2005). *IPEC Action Against Child Labour: Highlights 2004*. 55 pgs.

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Appendix B: India's Laws Related to Child Slavery

India's Commitments through Conventions, Treaties, Commissions and Laws Dealing with Children and Exploitive Work

Minimum Age Convention, 1919
Weekly Rest Convention, 1921
Slavery Convention 1926
Royal Commission on Labour in India 1929
Forced Labour Convention, 1930
The Children (Pledging of Labour) Act 1933
The Factories Act 1948
Universal Declaration on Human Rights 1948
The Mines Act 1952
UN Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery. 1956
Abolition of Forced Labour, 1957
Minimum Age Convention, 1962
Economic, Social and Cultural Covenant 1966
Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act 1976,
Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation Act) 1986
Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act 1989
Convention on the Rights of the Child 1992
Trafficking Protocol of the UN Convention on Transnational Organized Crime 2003

Convention No. 182: Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour India HAS NOT ratified this convention although it has had the fastest rate of ratification of any UN Convention.

Data sources: Government of India http://labour.nic.in
Burra (1997)
Saini (2006)

[i] Note: for a full comparison of the similarities and differences of these three approaches, see Campbell 2004, p. 11-27.

[ii] The name of this organization has been changed as per the research ethics contract between the researcher and participants.

[iii] [iii] The Bretton Woods institutions were established at the end of WWII to address post war reconstruction. Originally just the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization was added in the 1990s. Currently the group of organizations has grown to five, all under the direction of the World Bank. Of significance is the fact that the World Bank's director is appointed by the USA government. See www.brettonwoodsproject.org

[iv] Data on the Bal Mitra Gram project is taken from the article *Human rights education and contemporary child slavery: creating child friendly villages when states, communities and families fail to protect,* published in Abdi & Shultz (forthcoming). *Educating for human rights and global citizenship*. Albany, NY: Suny Press

[v] This section is part of a published paper Shultz (2006). Disrupting contemporary child slavery through organizational network: The possibilities and barriers. Canadian and International Education. Vol 35 (1) pp 28-41.